

English Works  
of  
Roger Ascham



ROGER-ASCHAM

Born 1515

Died 1568

22952

ROGER ASCHAM

ENGLISH WORKS

TOXOPHILUS,  
REPORT OF THE AFFAIRES AND STATE OF GERMANÝ  
THE SCHOLEMASTER

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CAMBRIDGE:  
at the University Pr  
1904

London C J CLAY AND SONS,  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
AVE MARIA LANE  
Glasgow 30, WELLINGTON STREET



Leipzig F A BROCKHAUS  
New York THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
Bombay and Calcutta MACMILLAN AND CO, LTD.

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## PREFACE.

OF the three English Works by Ascham printed in this volume, the *Toxophilus* is probably the only one which appeared in his lifetime. It was first published in 1545 by Edward Whitchurch. A second edition printed by Thomas Marshe appeared in 1571, and a third in 1589 printed by Abell Ieffes. As copies of the first edition vary slightly, it is as well to state that I have followed one in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, for which I have been indebted to the kindness of Mr Arthur Gray, with occasional reference to the Capell copy in Trinity Library. There are some readings in one of the copies in the British Museum (C 31 c 27) which I have found nowhere else. Mr Arber in his reprint appears to have followed this.

The Report and Discourse of the affairs and state of Germany was written in 1553, about the time of the death of Edward the Sixth (see p 138), but it was apparently not printed till after Ascham's death by John Daye, without date but probably about 1570. In Bohn's edition of Lowndes's *Bibliographer's Manual* it is said that 'there are two other editions, one 1570, the other without date,' but I can find no other record of them. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is said to have been republished in 1572, but I do not know on what authority.

The *Scholemaster* first appeared in 1570, two years after Ascham's death, and was printed by John Daye. A second edition, also printed by Daye, was issued in 1571, and a third in 1589, printed by Abell Ieffes. Other editions in 1572, 1573, 1579, and 1583, 'according to the bibliographers,' are mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I have not been able to discover any trace of them, except that in the edition of 1571, although 1571 is on the title-page, we find 1573 in the colophon.

In giving the list of Errata in the early copies, I have not thought it necessary to record any but those which are misleading, nor have I mentioned the many printer's errors in Greek which have been silently corrected. On pages 72 and

168 I have substituted 'leste' for 'lesse,' supposing it to be a misprint, but not feeling certain that it might not be a provincialism if not an archaism, I have allowed 'lesse' to stand on pages 215 and 258, though it is altered in the edition of 1571. - In the curious Italian Pasquinade in the Report (p. 136) I have been assisted by the kindness of Count della Rocchetta, Mr Arthur Tilley, and Mr E. G. W. Braunholtz, to whom are due the corrections which have brought it to its present form. It originally stood as follows :

Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.

- Pasq. **H** Anno vn bel gisco il Re, et l'Imperatore  
 per terzo el Papà, e giscano à Primera.  
 Rom. *che v' e d' in vito?* Pasq. *Italia tutta intera.*  
 Rom. *Chi vi l' ha messa?* Pasq. *il coglion del pastore.*  
 Rom. *Che tien in mano il Re?* Pasq. *Ponto magiere*  
*el Papa bacinquant' uno, e se despera*  
 Rom. *Cæsar che Ponto sa?* Pasq. *lui sta a Primera*  
 Rom. *che gli manca?* Pasq. *danari a far saure*  
*Il Papa dice à voi, e voll Partito :*  
*Cæsar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,*  
*teme à Scoprir di trouar moneta*  
*Il Re dico, no, no, Scoprite Presto,*  
*che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' in vito*  
*l' ho li danari, et Cæsar se gli aspetta.*

¶ *Tutte stanno a vedetta.*

*Chi di tor dui guadagni Rom il Papa?* Pas. *e fuora*  
*vinca chi vol, lui Perda, in sua mal' hora.*

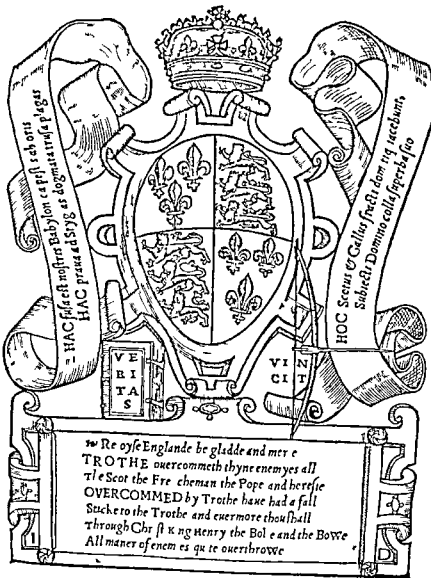
¶ *Le Imperatore anchora.*

*Teme, etien stretto, è Scopre Piau le carte,*  
*e qui, la sorte gioca, pin che l' Arte.*

¶ *Metra questi indisparte.*

*Stabilito e nel Ciel quelle, che esserdì,*  
*ne gima al nostro dic, questo Sara questo è.*

W. A. W.



*Gualterus Haddonus  
Cantabrigien*

*Mittere qui celeres summa uelit arte sagittas,  
Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro  
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, neruiq, rotundi,  
Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet  
Aschamius est author, magni que fecit Apollo  
Arte sua, magnum Pallas & arte sua  
Docta man<sup>us</sup> dedit huc, dedit huc res docta libellu  
Quia uidet Ars V'sus uisa, parata facit  
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,  
Conuenit hæc uobis optima uelle sequi*



*To the moste graciouse, and our most drad S ueraigne Lord,  
 King Henrie the 8<sup>th</sup>, by the grace of God, kyng  
 of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defen-  
 der of the faythe, and of the church  
 of Englande & also of Irelande  
 in earth supreme head, next vn-  
 der Christ, be ad healt  
 victorie, and se-  
 lucie*

**W**HAT tyme as, moste gracious Prince, your highnes this  
 last year past, tooke that your moost honorable and  
 victorious iourney into Fraunce, accompanied vvith such a porte  
 of the Nobilitie und yeomanrie of Englande, as neyther hath  
 bene lyke knowen by experience, nor yet red of in Historie  
 accompanied also vvith the daylie prayers, good hartes, and  
 vvilles of all and every one your graces subiectes, lesse behinde  
 you here at home in Englande the same tyme, I beinge at my  
 booke in Cambrige, sorie that my litle habilitie could stretche  
 out no better, to helpe forvard so noble an enterpryce, yet vvith  
 my good vvylle, prayer, and harte, nothinge behynde hym that  
 vvvas formoste of all, conceyued a vvonderful desire, by the praiser,  
 vvishing, talking, & communicatiō that vvvas in euery mā's  
 mouth, for your Graces moost victorouse retourne, to offer vp  
 sumthinge, at your home cumming to your Highnesse, vvwhich  
 shuld both be a token of my loue and deuotie toward your

➤ TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF  
ENGLANDE.



**B**ias the wyse man came to Cresus the ryche kyng, on a tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purposyng to haue subdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor: What newes now in Grece, saith the king to Bias? None other newes, but these, sayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue prepared a wonderful companye of horsemen, to ouerrun Lydia withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, sayth the kyng, that I woulde so soone wishe, as that they durst be so bolde, to mete vs on the lande with horse. And thanke you sayeth Bias, that there is anye thyng which they wolde sooner wyshe, then that you shulde be so fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And so Cresus hearyng not the true newes, but perceyuyng the wise mannes mynde and counsell, both gaue them ouer makvng of his shyppes, and left also behynde him a wonderful example for all commune wealthes to folowe. that is euermore to regarde and set most by that thing whervnto nature hath made them moost apt, and vse hath made them moost fitte.

By this matter I meane the shotyng in the long bowe, for English men: which thyng with all my hert I do wysh, and if I were of authoritie, I wolde counsel all the gentlemen and yomen of Englande, not to chaunge it with any other thyng, how good soeuer it seme to be but that styll, accordyng to the oulde wont of England, youth shulde vse it for the moost honest pastyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a mooste sure weapon in warre. Other stronge weapons whiche bothe

experience doth proue to be good, and the wysdom of the kinges Maiestie & his counsel prouydes to be had, are not ordeyned to take away shotyng but y<sup>t</sup> both, not compared together, whether shuld be better then the other, but so ioyned together that the one shoulde be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght so strengthen the Realme on all sydes, that no kynde of enemy in any kynde of weapon, myght passe and go beyonde vs

For this purpose I, partelye prouoked by the counsell of some gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayes borne towarde shotyng, haue wrytten this lytle treatise, wherein if I haue not satisfied any man, I trust he wyll the rather be content w<sup>th</sup> my doynge, bycause I am (I suppose) the firste, whiche hath sayde any thyng in this matter (and fewe begynnynge be perfect, sayth wyse men) And also bycause yf I haue sayed a misse, I am content that any man amende it, or yf I haue sayd to lytle, any man that wyl to adde what hym pleaseth to it

My minde is, in profitynge and plesynge euery man, to hurte or displease no man, intendency none other purpose, but that youthe myght be styrred to labour, honest pastyme, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, vnthrifte games, and vice whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, shewynge howe fit shootyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honest a pastyme for the mynde, howe holsome an exercise for the bodye, not vile for great men to vse, not costlye for poore men to susteyne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at theyr pleasure, to misvse it, but abiding in the open sight & face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wisdom to correct it

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vse this pastime in suche a mean, that the outrageousnes of great gamyng, shuld not hurte the honestie of shotyng, which of his owne nature is alwayes ioyned with honestie yet for mennes faultes oftentimes blamed vnworthely, as all good thynges haue ben, and cuermore shall be

If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answer I maye make hym, that whan the beste of the

Maiestie, & also a signe of my good minde and zeale towarde  
mi countrie

This occasion geuen to me at that time, caused me to take  
in hand againe, this litle purpose of shoting, begon of me before,  
yet not ended tha, for other studies more mete for that trade of  
liuinge, vvhiche God and mi frendes had set me vnto But  
vvhen your Graces moste ioufull & happie victorie preuened mi  
dail e and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, I vvvas com-  
pelled to vvaite an other time to prepare & offer vp this litle  
boke vnto your Maiestie And vvhan it hath pleased youre  
Highnesse of your infinit goodnesse, & also your most honor-  
able Counsel to knowv and peruse ouer the contentes, & some  
parte of this boke, and so to alovv it, that other me might rede  
it, throughe the furderaunce and setting forthe of the right  
worshipfull and mi Singuler good Master sir Vvilliam Pagette  
Knight, moost vvorthie Secretarie to your highnes, & most  
open & redie succoure to al poore honest learned mes sutes, I  
moost humble beseche your Grace to take in good vvorthie this  
litle treatise purposed, bego, and ended of me onelic for this  
intent, that Labour, Honest pastime & Vertu, might recouer  
againe that place and right, that Idlenesse, Vnthrifstie gamning  
and Vice hath put them fro

And althoughe to haue vvritten this boke either in latin or  
Greke (vvhich thing I vvold be verie glad yet to do, if I might  
surelie knowv *your Graces pleasure there in*) had bene more  
easier & fit for mi trade in study, yet neuerthelesse, I supposinge  
it no point of honestie, that mi commodite should stop &  
hinder ani parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue  
vvritten this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for  
Englishe men vvhere in this I trust that your Grace (if it  
shall please your Highnesse to rede it) shal perceaue it to be a  
thinge Honeste for me to vvrite, pleasaunt for some to rede, and  
profitable for manie to solovv, contening a pastime, honest for  
the minde, holsome for the body, fit for euery man, vile for no  
man, vsing the day & ope place for Honeste to rule it, not  
lurking in corners for disorder to abuse it. Therefore I trust  
it shal apere, to be bothe a sure token of my zeele to set forwarde  
shootinge, and some signe of my minde, tovvardes honestie and  
learninge

Thus I wil trouble your Grace no longer, but  
 with my daylie praier, I wil besetche God to  
 preserue your Grace, in al health and fel-  
 citie. to the feare and ouerthrowe  
 of all your ennemies. to the  
 pleasure, ioyfulnesse and  
 succour of al your sub-  
 iectes: to the vtter  
 destruction  
 of papi-  
 strie and heresie. to the con-  
 tinuall setting forth of  
 Goddes worde  
 and his glo-  
 rie.

Your Graces most  
 bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham

realme thinke it honest for them to vse, I one of the meanest sorte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write And though to haue written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf w<sup>t</sup> a little hynderaunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande And as for y<sup>e</sup> Latin or greke tonge, euery thyng is so excellently done in them, that none can do better In the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse For therein the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte And they whiche had leaste hope in latin, haue bene moste bould in englyshe when *surelye euery man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost able to wryte* He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys counsel of Aristotle, to speake as the comon people do, to thinke as wise men do and so shoulde euery man vnderstande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym Many English writers haue not done so, but vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde Ones I communed with a man whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue to be enryched and encreased therby, sayinge Who wyll not prayse that feaste, where a man shall drinke at a diner, bothe wyne, ale and beere? Truly quod I, they be all good, euery one taken by hym selfe alone, but if you putte Maluesye and sacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knowen, nor yet holsom for the bodye Cicero in folowyng Isocrates, Plato and Demosthenes, increased the latine tounge after an other sorte This waye, bycause dyuers men y<sup>t</sup> write, do not know, they can neyther folowe it, bycause of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it, for verye arrogauncie, ii faultes, seldome the one out of the others companye

Englysh writers by diuersitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse matters in hande In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but *bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherein a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye*

Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued For surelye vayne woordes doo woorke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thyng therunto of theyr owne nature These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moste parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuyng

In our tyme nowe, whan euery manne is gyuen to knowe muche rather than to liue wel, very many do write, but after suche a fashion, as very many do shoote Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes, than they be able to mayntayne This thyng maketh them sumtyme, to outshoote the marke, sumtyme to shote far wyde, and perchaunce hurte some that looke on Other that neuer learned to shote, nor yet knoweth good shafte nor bowe, wyll be as busie as the best, but suche one comonly plucketh doune a syde, and crafty archers which be agaynst him, will be bothe glad of hym, and also euer ready to laye and bet with him it were better for suche one to sit doune than shote Other there be, whiche haue verye good bowe and shaftes, and good knowlege in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fauoured shootyng, that they can neyther shoote fayre, nor yet nere Yf any man wyll applye these thynges togyther, [he] shal not se the one farre differ from the other

And I also amonges all other, in writinge this lytle treatise, haue folowed some yonge shooters, whiche bothe wyll begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twice about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good And therfore did I take this little matter in hande, to assaye my selfe, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the iudgement of wyse men, that looke on, thinke that I can do any good, I maye perchaunce caste my shafte amonge other, for better game

Yet in writing this booke, some man wyll maruayle perchaunce, why that I beyng an vnperfyte shoter, shoulde take in hande to write of makyng a perfyte archer the same man peraduenture wyll maruayle, howe a whettestone whiche is blunte, can make the edge of a knife sharpe I woulde ye same man shulde consider also, that in goyng about anye matter, there be iii thinges to be considered, doying, saying, thinking and

perfectnesse Firste there is no man that doth so wel, but he can saye better, or elles summe men, whiche be now starke nought, shuld be to good Agayne no man can vtter wyth his tong, so wel as he is able to imagin with his minde, & yet perfectnesse it selfe is farre aboute all thinking Than seing that saying is one steppe nerer perfectenesse than doying, let euery man leue maruayling why my woorde shall rather expresse, than my dede shall perfourme perfecte shootinge

I truste no man will be offended with this litle booke excepte it be sume fletchers and bowyers, thinking hereby that manye that loue shootyng shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares as they woulde vtter Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be yn honest, oughte rather to amende them selues for doinge ill, than be angrie with me for sayinge wel A fletcher hath euen as good a quarell to be angry w<sup>th</sup> an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladesmith hath to a fletcher y<sup>t</sup> forsaketh to bye of him a noughtie knyfe For as an archer must be content that a fletcher know a good shafte in euery poynte for the perfecter makynge of it, So an honeste fletcher will also be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery poynt for the perfiter vsing of it b cause the one knoweth like a fletcher how to make it, the other knoweth lyke an archer howe to vse it And seying the knowlege is one in them bothe, yet the ende diuerse, surely that fletcher is an enemye to archers and artillery, whiche can not be content that an archer knowe a shafte as well for his vse in shotyng, as he hym selfe shoulde knowe a shafte, for hys aduantage in sellynge And the rather bycause shaftes be not made so muche to be solde, but chesely to be vsed And seynge that vse and occupyng is the ende why a shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupyng, surely the knowlege in euery poynte of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher

Yet as I sayde before no honest fletcher wil be angry with me, seinge I do not teache howe to make a shafte whiche belongeth onelye to a good fletcher, but to knowe and handle a shafte, which belongeth to an archer And this lytle booke I truste, shall please and profite both partes For good bowes and shaftes shall be better knowen to the comoditie of al shoters,



and good shotyng may perchaunce be the more occupied to  
 the profite of all bowyers and fletchers And thus I praye  
 God that all fletchers getting theyr lyuyng truely, and al  
 archers vsyng shootyng honestly, and all maner of men  
 that fauour artillery, maye lyue continuallye in  
 healt he and merresse, obeying theyr  
 prince as they shulde, and louing  
 God as they ought, to whom  
 for al thinges be al ho-  
 nour and glorie for  
 euer. Amen



# TOXOPHILVS,

The schole of shootinge  
conteyned in two  
bookes.

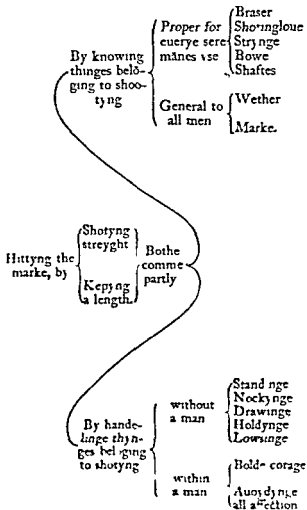
*To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande,  
pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede,  
and profitable for theyr use  
to folow, both in war  
and peace*

## The contentes of the first booke

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A Table conteyning  
the seconde booke



# TOXOPHILVS, A,

The first booke of the schole of shooting.

*Philologus*

*Toxophilus*

**P**HILOLOGUS You studie to sore Toxophile **TOX** I wil not hurt my self ouermoeche I warrant you **PHI** A Take hede you do not, for we Physicians saye, that it is nether good for the eyes in so cleare a Sunne, nor yet holosome for y<sup>e</sup> bodie, so soone after meate, to looke vpon a mans booke **TOX** In eatinge and studyng I will neuer folowe anye Physike, for yf I dyd, I am sure I shoulde haue small pleasure in the one, and lesse courage in the other But what newes draue you hyther I praye you? **PHI** Small newes trulie, but that as I came on walkynge, I fortunèd to come w<sup>t</sup> thre or foure that went to shote at the pryckes And when I sawe not you amonges them, but at the last espyed you lokynge on your booke here so sadlye, I thought to come and holde you with some communication, lest your booke shoulde runne awaye with you For me thought by your waueryng pace & earnest lokyng, your booke led you, not you it **TOX** In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my feete, for I happened here to reade in *Phedro Platonis*, a place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which place (whether it were *In Phedro* for the passynge eloquence of Plato, and the Greke tongue, or for the hyghe and godlie description of the matter, kept my mynde so occupied, that it had no leisure to loke to my feete For I was reding howe some soules being well fethered, fiewe alwayes about heauē and heauenlie matters, other some hauinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge, sanke downe into earthlie thinges **PHI** I remēbre the place verie wel, and it is wonderfullie sayd of Plato, & now I se it

was no maruell though your fete fayled you, seing your minde  
 flewe so fast TOX I am gladde now that you letted me,  
 for my head akes w<sup>t</sup> loking on it, and bycause you tell me so,  
 I am verye sorie y<sup>t</sup> I was not with those good feloes you spake  
 vpon, for it is a verie faire day for a mā to shote in PHI And  
 me thinke you were a great dele better occupied & in better  
 cōpanie, for it is a very faire daye for a mā to go to his boke  
 in TOX Al dayes and wethers wil serue for that purpose,  
 and surelie this occasio was ill lost PHI Yea but clere  
 wether maketh clere mindes, and it is best as I suppose, to  
 spend y<sup>e</sup> best time vpon the best thinges And me thought you  
 shot verie wel, and at that marke, at which euery good scoler  
 shoulde moste busilie shote at And I suppose it be a great  
 dele more pleasure also, to se a soule flye in Plato, then a shafte  
 flye at the prickes I graunte you, shoting is not the worst  
 thing in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we ar not  
 like to be great winners at the length And you know also we  
 scholers haue more earnest & weightie matters in hand, nor  
 we be not borne to pastime & pley, as you know wel ynough

*M Cic 1 off* who sayth TOX Yet the same man in the  
 same place *Philologe*, by your leue, doth admitte  
 holsome, honest and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie  
 to be mingled with sad matters of the minde, as eating  
 & sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we be borne

*Arist demo* for neither of bothe And Aristotle him selfe  
*ribus 10 6* sayth, y<sup>t</sup> although it were a fonde & a chylidish  
 thing to be to earnest in pastime & play, yet doth

he affirme by the authoritie of the oulde Poet Epicharmus,  
 that a man may vse play for earnest matter sake

*Arist Pol* And in an other place, y<sup>t</sup> as rest is for labour, &  
 8 3 *medicines* for helth, so is pastime at tymes for

sad & weightie studie PHI How moche in this matter is to  
 be giuen to y<sup>e</sup> auctoritie either of Aristotle or Tullie, I ca not  
 tel, seing sad me may wel ynough speke merily for a merie  
 matter, this I am sure, whiche thing this faire wheat (god saue  
 it) maketh me remebre, y<sup>t</sup> those husbādmē which rise erliest,  
 and come latest home, and are content to haue their diner and  
 other drinckinges, broughte into the felde to them, for feare of  
 losing of time, haue fatter barnes in haruest, than they whiche  
 will either slepe at none time of the daye, or els make merie

w<sup>t</sup> their neighbours at the ale. And so a scholer y<sup>t</sup> purposeth to be a good husband, and desireth to reape and enioy much fruite, of learninge, muste tylle and sowe thereafter. Our beste seede tyme, whiche be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and whan we be yonge: so it endureth not ouerlonge, and therefore it maye not be let slippe one houre, our grounde is verie harde, and full of wedes, our horse wherw<sup>t</sup> we be drawn very wyld as Plato sayth. And infinite other mo<sup>re</sup> *In Phidro* lettes whiche wil make a thrifstie scholer take hede how he spēdeth his tyme in sporte and pleye. **TOX.** That Aristotle and Tullie spake earnestlie, and as they thought, the earnest matter which they entreate vpon, doth plainlye proue. And as for your husbandrie, it was more probablie tolde with apt wordes propre to y<sup>e</sup> thing, then throughly proued with reasons belongynge to our matter. For contrariwise I herd my selfe a good husbāde at his boke ones saye, that to omit studie somtime of the daye, and sometime of the yere, made asmoche for the encrease of learning, as to let the lād lye sometime falloe, maketh for the better encrease of corne. This we se, yf the lande be plowed euerye yere, the corne commeth thinne vp: the eare is short, the grayne is small, and when it is brought into the barne and threshed, gyueth very euill faul. So those which neuer leaue poring on their bokes, haue oftētimes as thinne inuention, as other poore mē haue, and as smal wit and weight in it as in other mens. And thus youre husbandrie me thinke, is more like the life of a couetouse snudge that oft very euill preues, then the labour of a good husbād that knoweth wel what he doth. And surelie the best wittes to lerning must nedes haue moche recreation and ceasing from their boke, or els they marre them selues, whē base and dompysshe wittes can neuer be hurte with continuall studie, as ye se in luting, that a treble minikin string must alwayes be let down, but at suche time as when a man must nedes playe when y<sup>e</sup> base and dull stryng nedeth neuer to be moued out of his place. The same reason I finde true in two bowes that I haue, wherof the one is quicke of cast, tricke, and trime both for pleasure and profyte: the other is a lugge slowe of cast, folowing the string, more sure for to last, then pleasaunt for to vse. Now sir it chauced this other night, one in my chābre wolde nedes vende them to proue their strength, but I can not tel how,

they were both left bente tyll the nexte daye at after dyner. and when I came to them, purposing to haue gone on shoting I found my good bowe clene cast on the one side, and as weake as water, that surelie (if I were a riche man) I had rather haue spent a crowne and as for my lugge, it was not one whyt the worse but shotte by and by as wel and as farre as euer it dyd And euen so I am sure that good wittes, except they be let downe like a treble string, and vn bent like a good casting bowe, they wil neuer last and be able to cōnue in studie And I know where I speake this *Philologe*, for I wolde not saye thus moche afore yong men, for they wil take soone occasion to studie litle ynough But I saye it therfore because I knowe, as litle studie getteth litle learninge or none at all, so the moost studie getteth not y<sup>e</sup> moost learning of all For a mans witte sore occupied in earnest studie, must be as wel recreated with some honest pastime, as the body sore laboured, must be refreshed with slepe and quietnesse, or els it can not endure very longe, as the noble poete sayeth

*Quid What thig watf quiet & merr rest endures but a smal while*

And I promise you shoting by my iudgement, is y<sup>e</sup> moost  
 B honest pastime of al, & suche one I am sure, of all other, that hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatsoeuer you & some other saye, whiche are a gret dele sorer against it alwayes tha you nede to be PHI Hindereth learninge litle or nothings at all? that were a meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure seing you saye so, you haue some reason wherewith you can defende shooting w<sup>all</sup>, and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare towarde shotinge) I thinke there shall lacke none in you Therefore seinge we haue so good leysure bothe, and no bodie by to trouble vs and you so willinge & able to defende it, and I so redy and glad to heare what may be sayde of it I suppose we canne not passe the tyme better ouer, neyther you for y<sup>e</sup> honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne owne mindsake, than to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynste it, and speciall e in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it. TOX To speake of shootinge Philologe, trulye I wolde I were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter deserueth, but seing with wisshing we can not haue one nowe worthie, whiche



so worthie a thinge can worthilie praise, and although I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my selfe rather then no other I wil not fail to saye in it what I can wherein if I saye litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the matter it selfe whiche deserueth no litle thinge to be sayde of it PHI If it deserue no litle thinge to be sayde of it Toxophile, I maruell howe it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto, hath written any thinge of it wherein you must graunte me, that eyther the matter is noughte, vnworthye, and barren to be written vpon, or els some men are to blame, whiche both loue it and vse it, and yet could neuer finde in theyr heart, to saye one good woorde of it, seinge that very triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to sette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, & many other mo like thinges, wherfore eyther you may honestlie laye verie great fault vpon men bycause they neuer yet praysed it, or els I may iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shooting, bycause it neuer yet deserued it TOX I rulye herein Philologe, you take not so muche from it, as you giue to it For great and commodious thynges are neuer greatlie praysed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicause their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayse, hauinge all theyr comendation of them selfe not borrowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayse them selfe, in spekyng much of a litle thyng than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great & good thinges be not praysed For who euer praysed Hercules (sayeth the Greke prouerbe) And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shoting the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doying it, and this was the cause therof as I suppose Menne that vsed shootyng moste and knewe it best, were not learned men that were lerned, vsed litle shooting, and were ignorant in the nature of the thyng, and so fewe menne hath bene that hitherto were able to wryte vpon it Yet howe longe shotyng hath continued, what common wealthes hath moste vsed it, howe honeste a thyng it is for all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow, what pleasure and profit cometh of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues & writers, Hebrue, Greke and Latine, hath so plentifully spoken of it, as of fewe other thinges like So what shooting is howe many kindes there is of it,

what goodnesse is ioyned with it, is tolde onelye howe it is to be learned and brought to a perfectnesse amonges men, is not toulde PHI Than *Toxphile*, if it be so as you do saye, let vs go forwarde and examin howe plentifulle this is done that you speke, and firste of the inuention of it, than what honestie & profit is in the vse of it, bothe for warre & peace, more than in other pastimes, laste of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for the encrease of it, whiche thinge if you do, not onelye I nowe for youre communication but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, & shotying it selfe also (if it coulde speke) for your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke TOXOPH What good thynges me speake of shoting & what good thinges shooting bringes to men as my wit & knowlege will serue me, gladly shall I say my mind But how the thing is to be learned I will surely leue to some other which bothe for greater experience in it, & also for their lerninge, can set it out better than I PHI Well as for that I knowe both what you can do in shooting by experience, & y<sup>t</sup> you ca also speke well ynough of shooting, for youre learning, but go on with the first part And I do not doubt, but what my desyre, what your loue toward it, the honestie of shoting, the profite that may come therby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the last

- C TOXOPH Of the first finders out of shoting, diuers men diuerslye doo wryte Claudiane the poete sayth that nature gaue example of shotyng first, by the Porpentine, whiche doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the same in findyng out both bowe and shaftes Plinie referreth it to Schythes the sonne of Iupiter Better and more noble wryters bringe shoting from a more noble inuentour as Plato, Calimachus, and Galene from Apollo In sympo Yet longe afore those dayes do we reade in the In hym b ble of shotinge expreslye And also if we shall Apoll beleue Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain Gen 21 with a shafte. So this great continuance of Luc de lyra shoting doth not a lytle praise shotinge nor that neither doth not a litle set it oute, that it is referred to thir inuention of Apollo, for the which poynt shoting is highlye praised of

Galene where he sayth, yt mean craftes be first found out by men or beastes, as weauing by a spider, and suche other but high and comendable sciences by goddes, as shotinge and musicke by Apollo And thus shotynge for the necessitie of it vsed in Adams dayes, for the noblenesse of it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie comended in all tungen and writers, but also had in greate price, both in the best comune wealthes in warre tyme for the defece of their countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace tyme, bothe for the honestie that is ioyned with it, and the profyte that foloweth of it PHILOL Well, as concerning the fyndinge oute of it, litle prayse is gotten to shotinge therby, seinge good wittes maye mooste easelye of all fynde oute a trifelynge matter But where as you saye that mooste comune wealthes haue vsed it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men maye verye honestlye vse it in peace tyme I thinke you can neither shewe by authoritie, nor yet proue by reason TOXOPHI The vse of it in warre tyme, I wyll declare hereafter And firste howe all kindes and sortes of men (what degree soeuer they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe maye honestlye vse it the example of mooste noble men verye well doeth proue

*Galen in ex  
hor ad ho  
nas artes*

Cyaxares the kynge of the Medees, and greate graunde father to Cyrus, kepte a sorte of Sythians with him onely for this purpose, to teache his sonne Astyages to shote Cyr<sup>s</sup> being a childe was brought vp in shoting, which thinge Xenophon wolde neuer haue made mention on, except it had ben fitte for all princes to haue vsed seing that Xenopho wrote Cyrus lyfe (as Tullie sayth) not to shewe what Cyrus did, but what all maner of princes both in pastimes and earnest matters ought to do

*Herod i chio*

*Xen in insti  
Cyr 1*

*Ad Quint  
Fra 1 1*

Darius the first of that name, and king of Persie shewed plainly howe fit it is for a kinge to loue and vse shotynge, whiche commaunded this sentence to be grauen in his tombe, for a Princelie memorie and prayse

*Darius the King lieth buried here*

*Strabo 15*

*That in shoting and riding had neuer pere*

Agayne, Domitian the Emperour was so cuning in shoting that he coulede shote betwixte a mans

*Tranq met*

fingers standing as farre of, and neuer hurt him Comodus also  
*Herodia* 1 was so excellent, and had so sure a hande in it,  
 that there was nothing within his retche & shote,  
 but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde as beastes runninge,  
 either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer mysse, as Herodiane sayeth he sawe him selfe, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it PHI In dede you praise shoting very wel, in y<sup>t</sup>  
 you shewe that Domitian and Commodus loue shotinge, suche  
 an vngracious couple I am sure as a man shall not fynde agayne,  
 if he raked all hell for them TOXOPH Wel euen as I  
 wyll not commend their ilnesse, so ought not you to dispraise  
 their goodnesse, and in dede, the iudgement of Herodian vpon  
 Commodus is true of them bothe, and that was this that  
 beside strength of bodie and good shotinge, they hadde no  
 princelie thing in them, which saying me thinke commendes  
 shoting wonderfullie, callinge it a princelie thinge

Furthermore howe commendable shotinge is for princes

*Themist*  
*in ora* 6 Themistius the noble philosopher sheweth in a  
 certayne oration made to Theodosius themperoure,  
 wherein he doeth commend him for iii thinges,  
 that he vsed of a childe For shotinge, for rydinge of an horse  
 well, and for feates of armes

Moreouer, not onelye kinges and emperours haue ben brought  
 vp in shoting, but also the best comune wealthes that euer were,  
 haue made goodlie actes & lawes for it, as the Persians which  
*Herod* 1 also vnder Cyrus coquered in a maner all the worlde,  
 had a lawe that their children shulde learne thre  
 thinges onelie, from v yere oulde vnto xx to ryde an horse

*Leo de stra*  
*tag* 20. well, to shote well, to speake truthe alwayes &  
 neuer lye The Romaines (as Leo themperour  
 in his boke of sleighes of warre telleth) had a lawe  
 that euery man shoulde vse shoting in peace tyme, while he  
 was xl yere olde and that euerye house shoulde haue a bowe,  
 and xl shaftes ready for all nedes, the omittinge of whiche lawe  
 (sayth Leo) amonges the youthe, hath ben the onely occasion  
 why the Romaines lost a great dele of their empire But more  
 of this I wil speake whe I come to the profite of shoting in  
 warre If I shuld rehearse the statutes made of noble princes  
 of Englande in parlamentes for the settinge forwarde of shoting,  
 through th s realme, and specially that acte made for shoting

the thyrde yere of the reygne of our moost drad soueraygne lorde king Henry the .viii. I could be very long. But these fewe exaples specially of so great men & noble cōmon wealthes, shall stand in stede of many. PHI. That suche princes and suche cōmune welthes haue moche regarded shooting, you haue well declared. But why shotinge ought so of it selfe to be regarded, you haue scarcelye yet proued. TOX. Examples I graunt out of histories do shew a thing to be so, not proue a thing why it shuld be so. Yet this I suppose, y<sup>t</sup> neither great mens qualities being cōmēdable be without great authoritie, for other men honestly to folow them: nor yet those great learned men that wrote suche thinges, lacke good reasō iustly at al tymes for any other to approue thē. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shooting: both bycause it is an exercise moost holsom, and also a pastyme moost honest: wherin labour prepareth the body to hardnesse, the minde to couragiousnesse, sufferyng neither the one to be marde with tendernesse, nor yet the other to be hurte with ydlenesse: as we reade how Sardanapalus and suche other were, bycause they were not brought vp w<sup>t</sup> outwarde honest payneful pastymes to be men: but cockerde vp with inwarde noughtie ydle wantonnesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Iupiter or else Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lyncurgus amonges the Lacedemonians, do shewe by their lawes, which neuer ordeyned any thing for y<sup>e</sup> bringyng vp of youth that was not ioyned with labour. And the labour which is in shooting of al other is best, both bycause it encreaseth strength, and preserueth health moost, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not ouerlaying any one part with werysomnesse, but softly exercisyng euery parte with equalnesse, as the armes and breastes with drawinge, the other parties with going, being not so paynfull for the labour as pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercise by the iudgement of the best physicions, is most allowable. By shooting also is the mynde honestly exercised where a mā alwaies desireth to be best (which is a worde of honestie) and that by the same waye, that vertue it selfe doeth, couetinge to come highest a moost perfite ende or meane standing betwixte .ii. extremes, eschewing shorte, or gone, or eithersyde wide, for the which causes

Cic. 2 Tus.  
Qu

Gal. 2 de  
san tuend

mynde, and as I am able to proue my selfe, of al other moste fit and agreeable with learninge and learned men

PHI If you can proue this thing so playnly, as you speake it earnestly, the wil I, not only thinke as you do, but become a shooter and do as you do But yet beware I saye, lest you for the great loue you bear towarde shotinge, blindlie iudge of shotinge For loue & al other to earnest affections be not for nought paynted blinde. Take hede (I saye) lest you prefer shotinge afore other pastimes, as one Balbinus through blinde affection, preferred his louer before all other wemen, although she were deformed with a polypus in her nose And although shooting maye be mete sometyme for some scholers, and so forthe yet the fittest alwayes is to be preferred Therefore if you will nedes graunt scholers pastime and recreation of their mindes, let them vse (as many of the doth) Musyke, and playing on instrumentes, thinges moste semely for all scholers, and moste regarded alwayes of Apollo & the Muses TOX Euen as I can not deny, but some musike is fit for learning so I trust you can not chose but graunt, that shoting is fit also, as Calimach<sup>9</sup> doth signifie in this verſe

*Cal hym 2 Both merie songes and good shoting deliteth Appollo*

But as concerning whether of them is moste fit for learning, E and scholers to vse, you may saye what you will for your pleasure, this I am sure that Plato and Aristotle bothe, in their bookes entreatinge of the comon welthe, where they shew howe youthe shoulde be brought vp in iii thinges, in redinge, in writing, in exercise of bodye, and singing, do make mention of Musicke & all kindes of it, wherein they both agre, that Musike vsed amonges the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be studentes for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, softe, and smoth swetnesse of it, whiche woulde rather entice the to noughtines, than stirre them to honestie.

An other kinde of Musicke inuented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayse, allowing it to be verie fyt for the studie of vertue & learning, because of a manlye, rough and stoute sounde in it, whiche shulde encourage yong stomakes, to attempte manlye matters Nowe whether these balades & roundes, these galiardes, pauanes and daunces, so nicely fingered, so swetely tuned, be lyker the Musike of the Lydians or the

Dorians, you that be learned iudge And what so euer ye iudge, this I am sure, yt lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instrumentes euery one, whyche standeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be codemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in & vsed amonge them, whiche studie for learning and vertue

*Aristot pol*  
8 6

Pallas when she had inuented a pipe, cast it away, not so muche sayeth Aristotle, because it deformed her face, but muche rather bycause suche an Instrumente belonged nothing to learnynge Howe suche Instrumentes agree with learning, the goodlye agrement betwixt Apollo god of learninge, & Marsyas the Satyr, defender of pipinge, doth well declare, where Marsyas had his skine quite pulled ouer his head for his labour

Muche musike marreth mennes maners, sayth Galen, although some man wil saye that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quicke a mannes mynde, yet me thinke by reason it doth as hony doth to a mannes stomacke, whiche at the first receyueth it well, but afterwarde it maketh it vnfit, to abyde any good stronge norishynge meate, or els anye holosome sharpe and quicke drinke And euen so in a maner these Instrumentes make a mannes wit so softe and smoothe so tender and quaisie, that they be lesse able to brooke, stronge and tough studie Wittes be not sharpened, but rather dulled, and made blunte, wyth suche sweete softenesse, euen as good edges be blonter, whiche menne whette vpon softe chalke stones

And these thinges to be true, not onely Plato Aristotle & Galen, proue by authoritie of reason, but also Herodotus and other writers, shewe by playne and euident example, as that of Cyrus, whiche after he had ouercome the Lydians, and taken their kinge Cresus prisoner, yet after by the meane of one Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled agaynst Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them to vtter destruction, yf Cresus being in good fauour with Cyrus had not hertelie desyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in shedynge theyr blood But if he would folowe his counsell, he myght brynge to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel

*Herodotus*  
*in Clio*

Toxophile, that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a voice were so necessarie to be looked vpon, I would aske him if he thought not nature a foole, for making such goodly instrumentes in a man, for wel vttring his woordes, or els if the 11 noble orators Demosthenes & Cicero were not fooles, wherof the one dyd not onelie learne to sing of a man. But also was not ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his soudes aptly of a dogge, the other setteth oute no poynte of rhetorike, so fullie in all his bookes, as howe a man shoulde order his voyce for all kynde of matters. Therefore seinge men by speaking, differ and be better than beastes, by speakyng wel, better than other men, and that singing is an helpe towarde the same as dayly experiece doth teache, example of wyseme doth alowe, authoritie of learned men doth approue wherwith the foundation of youth in all good common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered, surelye if I were one of the parliament house, I woulde not fayle, to put vp a bill for the amendment of this thyng, but because I am lyke to be none this yere, I wil speake no more of it, at this time. **TOX** It were pitie truly *Philologe*, that the thinge shoulde be neglected, but I trust it is not as you say. **PHI** The thing is to true, for of them that come daylye to y<sup>e</sup> vniuersitie, where one hath learned to singe, vi hath not. But nowe to oure shotinge Toxophile agayne, wherein I suppose you can not say so muche for shotyng to be fitte for learninge, as you haue spoken agaynste Musicke for the same.

Therefore as concerning Musike, I can be content to graunt you your mynde. But as for shooting, surely I suppose that you can not perswade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earnest in it, and earnest at his booke to. but rather I thinke that a man w<sup>th</sup> a bowe on his backe, and shaftes vnder his girdell, is more fit to wayte vpon Robin Hoode, than vpon Apollo or the Muses. **TOX** Ouer earnest shooting surely I will not ouer earnestlye defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde be a wayter vpon lerning not a mastres ouer learning. Yet this I maruell not a litle at, that ye thinke a man with a bowe on his backe is more like Robin Hoode seruauit, than Apollose, seing that Apollo him selfe in *Alcestis* of Euripides, whiche tragidie you red openly not long ago, in a maner gloneth saying this verse

*Euripid in  
Alcest*

*It is my wnt alwaies my bowe with me to beare*



Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was not ashamed always to beare And because ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shotyng I maruell that you do not remembre howe that the ix muses their selfe as sone as they were borne, wer put to norse to a lady called Euphemis whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine Muses for his excellent shootinge, kepte euer more companie w<sup>th</sup>all, & used dayly to shoote together in y<sup>e</sup> mount Pernasus and at last it chaunced this Erotus to dye, whose death the Muses lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees afore Iupiter theyr father, and at theyr request, Erotus for shooting with the Muses in earth was made a signe, and called Sagittarius in heauen Therefore you se, that if Apollo and the Muses either were examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be examples of learninge, honest shoting maye well ynough be companion with honest studie PHI Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger defence of shotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your companions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a trisyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be perswaded by this reason to loue it TOXO Even as I am not so sonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignoraunt, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters which oftentimes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde & wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true iudgement of thinges Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle and Galene playnelye do shewe when through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all cotrouersies, by these ii Poetes and suche lyke authorities Therefore if in this matter I seme to fable, and nothyng proue, I am content you iudge so on me seinge the same iudgement shal condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errour I am wel content to folowe If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what saye you to this? that the best learned and sagest men in this Realme, whiche be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vse shoting, as the best learned bisshoppes that be amonges whome *Philolige*, you your selfe knowe iii or v which as in all good learning, vertue and sagesse they gyue

Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was not ashamed always to beare And bycause ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shotyng I maruell that you do not remembre howe that the ix muses their selfe as sone as they were borne, wer put to norse to a lady called Euphemus whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine Muses for his excellent shootinge, kepte euer more companie w<sup>th</sup>all, & vsed dayly to shoote together in ye mount Pernasus and at last it chauced this Erotus to dye, whose death the Muses lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees afore Iupiter theyr father, and at theyr request, Erotus for shooting with the Muses in earth was made a signe, and called Sagittarius in heauen Therefore you se, that if Apollo and the Muses either were examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be examples of learninge, honest shoting maye well ynough be companion with honest studie PHI Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger defence of shotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your companions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a trisyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be perswaded by this reason to loue it TOXO Euen as I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignoraunt, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters which oftentimes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde & wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true iudgement of thinges Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle and Galene playnelye do shewe when through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all cotrouersies, by these ii Poetes and suche lyke authorities Therefore if in this matter I seme to fable, and nothyng proue, I am content you iudge so on me seinge the same iudgement shal condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errour I am wel content to folowe If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what saye you to this? that the best learned and sagest men in this Realme, whiche be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vse shoting, as the best learned bisshoppes that be amonges whome *Philoboge*, you your selfe knowe iii or v which as in all good learning, vertue and sagentesse they gyue

other men example what thing they shoulde do, euen so by their shoting, they playnely shewe what honest pastime, other me giue to learning, may honestly vse That earnest studie must be recreated with honest pastime sufficientllye I haue proued afore, both by reason and authoritie of the best learned men that euer wrote Then seing pastymes be lesfull, the moost fittest for learning, is to be sought for A pastyme,

*Arist 1<sup>o</sup> 7* saith Aristotle, must be lyke a medicine Medicines stande by contraries, therfore the nature of studying considered, the fittest pastyme shal soone appeare In studie every parte of the body is ydle, which thing causeth grosse and colde humours, to gather togyther & vexe scholers verye moche, the mynde is altogither bent and set on worke A pastyme then must be had where every parte of the bodye must be laboured to separate and lessen suche humours withall the mind must be vnbound, to gather & fetche againe his quicknesse withall Thus pastymes for the mynde onelye, be nothing fit for studentes, because the body which is moost hurte by studie, shulde take away no profyite at all thereat This knewe Erasmus verye well, when he was here in Cambrige which when he had ben sore at his booke (as Garret our bookebynder hath verye ofte tolde me) for lacke of better exercise, wolde take his horse, and ryde about the markette hill, and come agayne If a scholer shoulde vse bowles or tennies, the laboure is to vehement and vnequall, whiche is condempned of Galene the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made vnlawfull

Running, leaping, and coyting be to vile for scholers, and so not fit by Aristotle his iudgement walking alone into the felde, hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme  
*Aristot 1<sup>o</sup> 7 17* lyke a simple man which is neither flesh nor fishe Therefore if a man woulde haue a pastyme wholesome and equall for euerye parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and vnhoneste to giue ill example to laye men, not kep't in gardynes and corners, nor lurking on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or els to testifye on it when it doth well let him seke chiefllye of all other for shoting. PHILOL. Suche commune pastymes as men commonlye do vse, I wyll not greatlye allowe to be fit for scholers

seinge they maye vse suche exercises verye well (I suppose)  
 as Galene him selfe doth allowe **TOXOPH**  
 Those exercises I remembre verye well, for I *Gal de san  
tuend 2*  
 read them within these two dayes, of the whiche,  
 some be these to runne vp and downe an hyll, to clyme vp a  
 longe powle, or a rope, and there hange a while, to holde a man  
 by his armes and waue with his heeles, moche lyke the pastyme  
 that boyes vse in the churche whe their master is awaye, to  
 swinge and totter in a belrope to make a fiste, and stretche out  
 bothe his armes, and so stande lyke a roode To go on a man  
 his tiptoes, stretching out thone of his armes forwarde, the  
 other backwarde, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght  
 be thought to daunce Anticke verye properlye To tūble ouer  
 and ouer, to toppe ouer tayle To set backe to backe, and se  
 who cā heaue an other his heles highest, with other moche like  
 whiche exercises surelye muste nedes be naturall, bycause they  
 be so childisse, and they may be also holesome for the body  
 but surelye as for pleasure to the minde or honestie in the doinge  
 of them, they be as lyke shotinge as Yorke is foule Sutton  
 Therefore to loke on al pastymes and exercises holsome for the  
 bodye, pleasaunt for the mynde, comlye for euery man to do,  
 honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be sette by of  
 euerye man, worthie to be rebuked of no man, fit for al ages  
 persos and places, onely shoting shal appeare, wherein all these  
 commodities maye be founde

**PHIL** To graunt Toxophile, that studentes may at tymes  
 conuenient vse shoting as moost holsome and honest pastyme  
 yet to do as some do, to shote hourly daylie, wekelye, and in  
 a maner the hole yere, neither I can prayse, nor any wyse  
 man wyl alowe, nor you your selfe can honestlye defende  
**TOXOPH** Surely Philologe, I am very glad to se you come  
 to that poynte that moost lieth in your stomake, and greueth  
 you and other so moche But I truste after I haue sayd my  
 mynde in this matter, you shal cofesse your selfe that you do  
 rebuke this thing more thā ye nede, rather then you shal fynde  
 that any man may spende by anye possibilitie, more tyme in  
 shotinge then he ought For first and formoost the hole tyme  
 is deuyded into ii partes, the daye and the night whereof the  
 night maye be both occupied in many honest businesses, and  
 also spent in moche vnthriftnesse, but in no wise it can be

applied to shooting And here you se that halfe our tyme, graunted to all other things in a maner both good and ill, is at one swappe quite taken awaye from shooting Now let vs go forward, and se how moche of halfe this tyme of ours is spent in shooting The hole yere is deuided into iii partes, Spring tyme, Somer, faule of the leafe, and winter wherof the whole winter, for the roughnesse of it, is cleane taken awaye from shooting except it be one day amonges xx or one yere amonges xl In Somer, for the feruent heate, a man maye saye likewyse except it be somtyme agaynst night Now then spring tyme and faule of the leafe be those which we abuse in shooting But if we consider how mutable & chaungeable the wether is in those seasons, and howe that Aristotle him selfe sayth, that mooste parte of rayne fauleth in these two tymes we shall well perceyue, that where a man wolde shote one daye, he shall be fayne to leaue of iii Now when tyme it selfe graunteth vs but a litle space to shote in, lette vs se if shooting be not hindered amonges all kyndes of men as moche otherwayes First, yong childe vse not, yong men for feare of them whom they be vnder to moche dare not sage men for other greater businesses, wyll not aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not Ryche men for couetousnesse sake, care not poore men for cost and charge, may not masters for their housholde keping, hede not seruantes kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not craftes men for getting of their lyuing, verye moche leysure haue not and many there be that oft begynnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not and moost of all, whiche when they be shooters gyue it ouer and lyst not, so that generallye men euerye where for one or other consideration moche shooting vse not Therefore these two things, straytenesse of tyme, and euery man his trade of liuing, are the causes that so fewe men shotes as you maye se in this greate towne, where as there be a thousande good mens bodies, yet scarce x y<sup>t</sup> vseth any great shooting And those whome you se shote the moost, with how many things are the[y] drawn, or rather driuen, fro shooting For first, as it is many a yere or they begyn to be greate shooters, euen so the greate heate of shotinge is gone within a yere or two as you knowe diuerse Philologe your selfe, which were somtyme the best shooters, and now they be the best studentes.

If a man faule sycke, farewell shoting, maye fortune as long as he lyueth If he haue a wrentche, or haue take colde in his arme, he may hang vp his bowe (I warraunt you) for one season A litle blayne, a small cutte, yea a silie poore worme in his finger, may kepe him from shoting wel ynough Breaking and ill luck in bowes I wyll passe ouer, with an hundred mo sere thinges, whiche chaunceth euerye daye to them that shote moost, wherof the leest of them may compell a man to leaue shoting And these thinges be so trewe and euident, that it is impossible either for me craftelye to fayne them, or els for you iustly to deny the Tha seing how many hundred thinges are required altog,ther to giue a man leaue to shote, and any one of the denied, a ma can not shote and seing euery one of them maye chaunce, and doth chaunce euery day, I meruayle anye wyse man wyll thinke it possible, that any greate tyme can be spent in shoting at all

PHI If this be true that you saye Toxophile, and in very dede I can denye nothings of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth, that those, whiche vse shoting be so moche marked of men, and oftymes blamed for it, and yt in a maner as moche as those which pleye at cardes and dise And I shal tell you what I hearde spoken of the same matter A man no shoter, (not longe agoo) wolde defende playing at cardes\* & dise, if it were honestly vsed, to be as honest a pastime as youre shoting For he layed for him, that a man might pleye for a litle at cardes and dyse, and also a man might shote away all that euer he had He sayd a payre of cardes cost not past ii d and that they neded not so moche reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere A man shulde neuer sleepe a man with shot ng wyde at the cardes In wete and drye, hote and coulde, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie if one game were harde, he myght easelye learne an other if a man haue a good game, there is greate pleasure in it if he haue an ill game, the payne is shorte, for he maye soone gyue it ouer, and hope for a better with many other mo reasons But at the last he concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well vsed or ill vsed, there was no difference but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a greate deale more pleasure in playing, then in shotynge

*Cardes  
and dyse*

**TOX** I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused And good thinges vngoodlye vsed, are not good, sayeth an honorable bishoppe in an ernester matter then this is yet we muste beware that we laye not mennes fautes vpo the thing which is not worthie, for so nothing shulde be good And as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I sayde before) which shoulde be rather a token of honestie to prayse it, then any signe of noughtinesse to disalowe it, and that is bycause it is in euerye man his sight, it seketh no corners, it hydeth it not if there be neuer so litle fault in it, euerye man seeth it, it accuseth it selfe For one houre spent in shoting is more sene and further talked of, then xx. nightes spent in dysing, even as a litle white stone is sene amonges iii hundred blacke Of those that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll saye nomore at this tyme but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shoting, which the kinges grace wolde haue forwarde, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynt to Wyll' Somer the king his foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer so worshipfull a man, and neuer greatly lokes for him whiche lurkes behinde an other man his backe, that hurte him in dede

But to him that compared gamning with shoting somewhat wyll I answere, and bycause he went afore me in a cõparison and comparisons sayth learned men, make playne matters I wyl surely folowe him in the same Honest thynges (sayeth

*In phedro* Plato) be knowen from vnhonest thinges, by this difference, vnhonestie hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence going before, nor yet any profit folowing after, which saying descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shooting & gamning whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well

Gamninge hath ioyned with it, a vayne presente pleasure, but there foloweth, losse of name, losse of goodes, and winning of an hundred gowtie, dropsy diseases, as euery man can tell Shoting is a peynfull pastime, wherof foloweth health of body quiknes of witte, habilitie to defende oure countrie, as our enemies can beare recorde

Loth I am to compare these thinges together, & yet I do it not b cause there is any comparison at al betwixte them, but therby a man shal se how good the one is, howe euil the other

For I thinke ther is scarce so muche contrariounes, betwixte hotte and colde, vertue & vice, as is betwixte these ii thinges For what so euer is in the one, the cleane contrarye is in the other, as shall playnlye appere, if we consider, bothe theyr beginnynges, theyr encreasynges, theyr fructes, and theyr endes, whiche I wyl soone rydde ouer

¶ The fyrste brynger in to the worlde of shootyng, was Apollo, whiche for his wisdom, & great commodities, brought amonges men by him, was esteemed worthie, to be counted as a God in heauen *Plato symp* Disyng surely is a bastarde borne, because it is said to haue ii fathers, and yet bothe noughte The one was an vngracious God, called *Theuth*, which for his noughtines, came neuer in other goddes companyes, and therfore *Plato In Phedro* Homer doth despise onse to name him, in all his workes The other father was a Lydian borne, whiche people for suche gamnes, and other vnthriftnes, as boowlyng and haunting of tauernes, haue bene euer had in most vile reputation, in all storyes and writers *Herodotus in Cl o*

The Fosterer vp of shoting is Labour, y<sup>e</sup> companion of vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encreaser of health and welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothinge in a maner in to his companye, that standeth not, with vertue and honestie, and therefore sayeth the oulde poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon, that God selleth vertue, & all other good thinges to men for labour The Nource of *Xen. de dict & fact Soc* dise and cardes, is wenisom Ydlenesse, enemy of vertue, y<sup>e</sup> drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and as Chauser doth saye verie well in the Parsons tale, the greene path waye to hel, haunge this thing appropriat vnto it, that where as other vices haue some cloke of honestie, onely ydlenes can neyther do wel, nor yet thinke wel Agayne, shooting hath two Tutours to looke vpon it, out of whose companie, shooting neuer stirreth, the one called Daye light, y<sup>e</sup> other Open place, whyche ii keepe shooting from euyl companie, and suffers it not to haue to much swinge, but euermore kepes it vnder awe, that it darre do nothinge in the open face of the worlde, but that which is good and honest Lykewyse, dysyng and cardyng, haue ii Tutours, the one named Solitariousenes, whyche lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night an



vngratiouse couer of noughty nesse, whyche two thynges be very Inkepers & receyuers of all noughty nesse and noughtye thynges, and therto they be in a maner, ordeyned by Nature For on the nighte tyme & in corners, Spirtes and theues, rattes and mice, toodes and oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes and foumerdes, with all other vermine, and noysome beastes, vse mooste styrringe, when in the daye lyght, and in open places whiche be ordeyned of God for honeste thynges, they darre not ones come, whiche thinge Euripides noted verye well, sayenge

*Il things the night, good things the daye d th haunt & use*  
*Iphi : Tau*

Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true meatinge, honest comparison, whyche thynges agree with vertue very well. Cardinge and dysinge, haue a sorte of good felowes also, goynge commonly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune, stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealing, crafty conueyaunce, braynlesse brawlynge, false forswerynge, whiche good feloes wyl sone take a man by the sleue, and cause him take his Inne, some w<sup>t</sup> beggerye, some wyth goute & dropsie, some with thefte and robbery, & seldome they wyl leaue a man before he comme eyther to hangyng or els somme other extreme misery To make an ende, howe shoting by al mennes lawes hath bene alowed, cardyng and dysyng by al mennes iudgementes condemned, I nede not shewe the matter is so playne

Therefore, whan the Lydians shall inuent better thynges than Apollo, whan slothe and ydlenes shall encrease vertue more than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth lesse occasion to vnthriftinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal shotyng and suche gamnyng, be in sūme comparison lyke Yet euen as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotyng, whan I proue it standeth by the same thynges that vertue it selfe standeth by, as brought in by God, or Godlyely ke men, fostered by labour, committed to the sauegarde of lyght and opennes, accompanied with prouision and diligens, loued and allowed by euery good mannes sentence, Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe the noughtines whiche is in cardyng & dysyng, whan I shewe howe they are borne of a desperate mother, nourished in ydlenes, encreased by licence of nyght and corners,

accompanied wyth Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, & craftines  
condemned and banished, by all lawes & iudgementes

For if I woulde enter, to describe the monstuousenes of  
it, I shoulde rather wander in it, it is so brode, than haue any  
readye passage to the ende of the matter whose horribleness is  
so large, that it passed the eloquence of oure Englyshe Homer,  
to compasse it yet because I euer thought hys sayinges to haue  
as muche authoritie, as eyther Sophocles or Euripides in Greke,  
therefore gladly do I remembre these verses of hys

*Hasardry is V'ery mother of lesinges,  
And of deceyte, and cursed sweringes,  
Blasphemie of Ch[r]ist, manslaughter, and waste also,  
Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo*

¶ *Mother of lesinges*) trulye it maye well be called so, if a  
man consydre howe manye wayes, and how many thynges, he  
loseth thereby, for firste he loseth his goodes, he loseth his  
tyme, he loseth quyknes of wyt, and all good lust to other  
thynges, he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name  
and estimation, and at laste, yf he leaue it not, loseth God, &  
heauen and all and in stede of these thynges winneth at length,  
eyther hangyng or hell

¶ *And of deceyte*) I trowe if I shoulde not lye, there is not  
halfe so muche crafte vsed in no one thinge in the worlde, as in  
this cursed thyng What false dise vse they? as dise stopped  
with quicksiluer and heares, dise of a vantage, flattes, gourdes  
to chop and chaunge whan they lyst, to lette the trew dise fall  
vnder the table, & so take vp the false, and if they be true dise,  
what shyfte wil they make to set y<sup>e</sup> one of them with slyding,  
with cogging, with foysting, with coytinge as they call it  
Howe wyll they vse these shiftes, whan they get a playne man  
that can no skyll of them? Howe will they go about, yf they  
perceyue an honest man haue money, which list not playe, to  
prouoke him to playe? They wyl seke his company, they wil  
let hym paye nought, yea and as I hearde a man ones saye that  
he dyd, they wil send for hym to some house & spend  
perchaunce, a crown on him, and at last wyll one begin to saye  
what my masters, what shall we do? shall euerye man playe his  
xii d whyles an apple roste in the fyre, and than we wyll  
drinke & departe Naye wyl an other saye, as false as he, you

of those men is which dayly haunt and vse suche vngracious games. PHIL. You handle this gerte in dede: And I suppose if ye had ben a prentice at suche games, you coulde not haue sayd more of them then you haue done, and by lyke you haue had somewhat to do with them. TOX. In dede, you may honestlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speake agaynst them: not that I haue vsed them greatlye, in that I speake of them. For thynges be knowen dyuerse wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades. And if euery man shulde be that, that he speaketh or wryteth vpo, then shulde Homer haue bene the best capitayne, moost cowarde, hardye, hasty, wyse and woode, sage and simple: And Terence an ouldeman & a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with suche lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe them frō suche unthriftynesse, and speciallye all the youth of Englande for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll folowe cōmonlye, euen to his dyinge daye.

*Euripides*  
*in supp.*      whiche thinge Adrastus in Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

*What thing a man in tender age bath most in care  
That same to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure  
Therefore in age who greatly longes good frute to mowe  
In youth he must him selfe apleve good seede to sowe.*

For the foundation of youth well sette (as Plato doth saye) the whole bodye of the commune wealth shal floryshe thereafter. If the yonge tree growe croked, when it is ould, a man shal rather breake it thā streyght it. And I thinke there is no one thinge y<sup>t</sup> crokes youth more then suche vnlefull games. Nor let no mā say, if they be honestly vsed they do no harme. For how can that pastyme whiche neither exerciseth the bodye with any honest labour, nor yet the minde with any honest thinking, haue any honestie ioyned with it. Nor let noman assure hym selfe that he can vse it honestlye for if he stande therein, he may fortune haue a faule, the thing is more clipperye then he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) syt on a brante hyll syde, but if he gyue neuer so lytle forward, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisemetes or baytes, to pull

men forward withall) Homer doeth well shewe, by the Sirenes, and Circes And amonges all in that shyp there was but one Vlysses, and yet he hadde done to as the other dyd, yf a goddess had not taught hym And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, whiche passe by playing honestlye, excepte the grace of God saue and kepe them Therefore they that wyll not go to farre in playing, let them folowe this counsell of the Poete

*Stoppe the begynninges*

PHILOLO Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me this one thing Doo ye speake agaynste meane mennes playinge onelye, or agaynste greate mennes playinge to, or put you anye difference betwixte them? TOXOPHI If I shulde excuse my selfe herein, and saye that I spake of the one, and not of the other, I feare leaste I shoulde as fondlye excuse my selfe, as a certayne preacher dyd, whome I hearde vpon a tyme speake agaynste manye abuses, (as he sayde) and at last he spake agaynst candelles, and then he fearynge, least some men woulde haue bene angrye and offended with him, naye sayeth he, you must take me as I meane I speake not agaynst greate candelles, but agaynst lytle candels, for they be not all one (¶ he) I promyse you And so euerye man laughed him to scorne

In dede as for greate men, and greate mennes matters, I lyst not greatlye to meddle Yet this I woulde wysshe that all great men in Englande had red ouer diligentlye the Pardoners tale in Chaucer, and there they shoulde perceyue and se, howe moche suche games stande with theyr worshyppe, howe great soeuer they be What great men do, be it good or yll, meane men communelye loue to followe, as many learned men in many places do saye, and daylye experience doth playnelye shewe, in costlye apparell and other lyke matters

Therefore, seing that Lordes be lanternes to leade the lyfe of meane men, by their example, eyther to goodnesse or badnesse, to whether soeuer they liste and seinge also they haue libertie to lyste what they will, I pray God they haue will to list that which is good, and as for their playing, I wyll make an ende with this saying of Chaucer

*Lordes might finde them other maner of pleye  
Honest ynough to drie the daye awaye*

both loue it the better, and also vse it the offer. For as moche as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the nose, the handes and the feete be no fyttter membres, or instrumentes for the body of a man, then is shotynge for the hole bodye of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be best and moost neccessarye, to serue, not for one purpose onelye, but for manye as the tungue for speaking and tasting, the nose for smelling, and also for auoyding of all excremetes, which faule oute of the heed, the handes for receyuyng of good thinges, and for puttyng of all harmefull thinges, from the bodye. So shotynge is an exercyse of healtie, a pastyme of honest pleasure, and suche one also that stoppeth or auoydeth all noysome games gathered and encreased by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, whiche hurte and corrupte sore that parte of the realme, wherein they do remayne.

But now if you can shewe but halfe so moche profyte in warre of shotynge, as you haue proued pleasure in peace, then wyll I surelye iudge that there be fewe thinges that haue so manysolde commodities, and vses ioyned vnto them as it hath.

**G** **TOX** The vpperhande in warre, nexte the goodnesse of God (of whome al victorie commeth, as scripture sayth) standeth cheselye in thre thinges in the wysedome of the

*Mack 1 3* Prince, in the sleightes and pollicies of the capytaynes, and in the strength and cherefull forwardnesse of the souldyers. A Prince in his herte must be full of mercy and peace, a vertue moost pleasaunt to Christ, moost agreable to mans nature, moost profytable for ryche and poore.

For thā the riche man enioyeth with great pleasure that which he hath the poore may obtayne with his labour, that which he lacketh. And although there is nothing worse then war, wherof it taketh his name, through the which great men be in daunger, meane men without succoure, ryche men in feare, bycause they haue somewhat poore men in care, bycause they haue nothing. And so euery man in thought and miserie. Yet it is a ciuill medicine, wherewith a prince maye from the bodye of his commune wealth, put of that daunger whiche maye faule or elles recouer agayne, whatsoeuer it hath lost. And

*As As* therefore as Isocrates doth saye, a prince must be a warnour in two thinges, in conninge and know-

ledge of all sleightes and feates of warre, and in hauing al necessarye habilimentes belongyng to the same Whiche matter to entreate at large, were ouerlonge at this tyme to declare, & ouermoeche for my learning to perfourme

After the wisdom of the prince, are valiaunt capytaynes moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all sleightes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye learne ii wayes, either in daylye folowing and haunting the warres or els bicause wisdom bought with strypes, is many tymes ouercostlye they maye bestowe some tyme in Vegetius, which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather in Polygnus, and Leo the Emperour, which setteth out al pollicies and duties of capytaynes in the Greke tunge very excellentlye But chesely I wolde wisse and (if I were of authoritie) I wolde counsel al the yong gentlemen of this realme, neuer to lay out of theyr handes ii authors Xenophon in Greke, and Cēsar in Latyn, where in they shulde folowe noble Scipio

*De Sen*

Africanus, as Tullie doeth saye In whiche ii authours, besydes eloquence a thing mooste necessary of all other, for a capytayne, they shulde learne the hole course of warre, whiche those ii noble menne dyd not more wyselye wryte for other men to learne, than they dyd manfully exercise in the fyeelde, for other men to folowe

The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chyefe prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his capytayne, sayth Plato And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, mooste christianlye doeth saye, euen by these woordes, that that souldyer whiche firste serueth god, & than obeyeth hys capytayne, maye boldelie with all courage, hope to ouerthrowe his enemy Agayne, w'tout obedience, neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly harnes doth any good at al Which obedience of ye souldier toward his captane, brought the hole empyre of ye worlde, into the Romanes hades, & whan it was brought, kepte it lenger, than euer it was kept in any comon welth before or after

*Obedience  
Plat leg 12  
Xen Ages*

*Xen Hippar*

And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the mooste noble capytayne that euer was amonge the Romaynes, shewed very playnly, what tyme as he went in to Afryke, to destroye Cartage For he restinge hys hooste by

*Plutarchus*

the waye in Sicilie, a daye or twoo, and at a tyme standing with a great man of Sicilie, and looking on his soulders howe they exercised them selues in keepyng of araye, and other feates, the gentleman of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherein laye hys chiefe hope to ouercome Cartage. He answered, in yonder feloes of myne, whom you se play. And why sayth the other, bycause sayeth Scipio, that if I commaunded them to runne in to the toppe of this high castel, and cast them selues doune backward vpon these rockes, I am sure the[y] woulde do it.

Salust also doth write, y<sup>t</sup> there were no Romanes put to death of theyr captaynes for setting on theyr enemyes before they had licence, than were for running away out of the fyelde, before they had foughten. These two examples do proue, that amonges the Romaynes, the obedience of the souldyer was wonderfull great, and the seueritie of the Captaynes, to se the same kepte wonderfull strayte. For they wel perceyued that an hoste full of obedience, falleth as seldome into the handes of theyr enemies as that bodye sawleth into Jeopardye, the whiche is ruled by reason. Reason and Rulers beyng lyke in offyce, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the bodye of the comon wealthe) ought to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in all maner of matters. Obedience is nourysshed by feare and loue, Feare is kepte in by true iustice and equite, Loue is gotten by wisdom, ioyned w<sup>t</sup> liberalitie. For where a souldyer seeth ryghteousnesse so rule, that a man can neyther do wronge nor yet take wronge, and that his capitayne for his wysdome, can mayntayne hym, & for his liberalitie will mayntayne him, he must nedes both loue him & feare him, of the whiche procedeth true & vnfayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the nexte good poynt in a souldier, is to haue and to handle his weapō wel, whereof the one must be at the appoyntment of the captayne, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldier. yet of al weapōs the best is, as

*In Here fu* Euripides doth say, wherw<sup>t</sup> with leest daunger of our self we maye hurt our enemye moost. And that is (as I suppose) artillarie. Artillarie now a dayes is taken for ii thynges. Gunnes & Bowes, which how moch they do in war, both dayly experience doeth teache, and also Peter Nanius a learned man of Louayn, in a certayne dialogue doth very well

set out, wherein this is most notable, that when he hath shewed exceeding commodities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, combersome carriage: and yf they be greate, the vncertayne leuelyng, the peryll of them that stand by them, the esier auoyding by them that stande far of: & yf they be lytle, the lesse both feare and icoperdy is in them, besyde all contrary wether and wynde, whiche hyndereth them not a lytle: yet of all shotyng he can not reherse one discommoditie. PHIL. That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so well learned, & so exercised in the authours of both the tages: for I my selfe do remembre that shotyng in war is but smally praysed, and that of diuers captaynes in dyuers authors. For first in Euripides (whom you so highly prayse) and very well, for Tullie thynketh euerye verse in him to be an authoritie, what I praye you, doth Lycus that ouercame Thebes, say as concernyng shoting? whose words as farre as I remembre, be these, or not muche vnlyke.

*What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,  
The dint of a speares poynt thrust against his side  
Nor neuer bouldie buckeler bare yet in his lefte hande  
Face to face his enemies bront stiffelie to wythstande,  
But aluaye trusteth to a bowe and to a fethered sticke  
Harnes euer most fit for him which to fite is quicke,  
Bowe and shafte is Armour metest for a cowarde  
Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel sharpe & harde.*  
*Eurp in  
Here furent*  
*But he a man of manhode most is by mine assent  
Which with barte and corage boulde, fullie hath him bent,  
His enemies looke in euery stoure floutelie to a bide,  
Face to face, and fate to fote, tide what maye be tide.*

Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Menelaus, a boweman, & a shooter as in villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no price in warre. Moreouer Pandar<sup>o</sup> the best shooter in the worlde, whome Apollo hym selfe taught to shoote, bothe he and his shotynge is quyte contemned in Homer, in so much that Homer (which vnder a make subtle with alwayes trybe tryb iudgement of thinges) doeth make Pandarus him selfe crye out of shooting, and cast his bowe awaye, and take him to a speare,

*Soph in  
Aia flag*

*Iiad 5*



makynge a vowe that if euer he came home, he woulde breake his shaftes, & burne his bowe, lamentyng greatly, that he was so fonde to leaue at home his horse and charyot wyth other weapons, for the trust yt he had in his bowe. Homer signifieng therby, that men shoulde leue shoting out of warre, and take them to other wepons more fitte and able for the same, and I trowe Pandarus woordes be muche what after thys sorte

*Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte  
Ill fortune me that daye befell,  
Whan first my bowe fro the pyne I raughte  
For Heſtors sake, the Grekes to quell*

*But yf that God so for me shap  
That home agayne I maye ones come,  
Let me neuer inioye that hap,  
Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,  
If bowe and shaftes I do not burne  
Whych now so euell doth serue my turne*

But to let passe al Poetes, what can be sorer said agaynst any thing, than the iudgement of Cyrus is agaynst shotinge,

*Xen Cyri  
Inst 6*

whiche doth cause his Persians beyng the best shooters to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them to sweardes and buckelers, speares and dartes, and

other lyke hande weapons. The which thing Xenophon so wyse a philosopher, so experte a captayne in warre hym selfe, woulde neuer haue written, and specially in that booke wherein he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in dede, not the true

*Epist 1 ad  
Q Fra*

historie, but the example of a perfite wise prince and comon welthe, excepte that iudgement of chaugyng Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had

alwayes thought best to be folowed, in all warre. Whose counsell the Parthians dyd folowe, whan they chased Antonie ouer the moutaines of Media, whiche being the best shoters of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to speares and morispikes

*Plutarch  
M Ant*

And these fewe examples I trowe, of the best shooters, do well proue that the best shotinge is not the best thinge as you call it in warre. FOX As concernyng your first example, taken oute of Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for ye

dispraise of shoting, seying Euripides doth make those verses, not because he thinketh thē true, but because he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them For in dede his true iudgement of shoting, he doth expresse by & by after in the oratio of the noble captaine Amphytro agaynste Lycus, wherein a man maye doubt, whether he hath more eloquentely confuted Lycus sayenge, or more worthely sette oute the prayse of shootynge And as I am aduised, his woordes be muche hereafter as I shall saye

*Against the wittie giste of shotinge in a bowe*  
*Fonde and leude worles thou leudlie doest out throwe,* *Eurip in*  
*Wliche, if thou wilt heare of me a worde or twayne* *Here fur*  
*Quicklie thou mayst learne howe fondlie thou doest blame,*  
*Firste he that with his barneis him selfe doth wal about,*  
*That scarce is leste one hole through which he may pepe out,*  
*Such bondmen to their barneis to fight are nothings mete*  
*But sonest of al other are troden vnder fete*  
*Yf he be stronge, his selouues faynt, in whome he putteth his trust,*  
*So loded with his barneis must nedes lie in the dust,*  
*Nor yet fro death he can not starte, if ones his weapon breke,*  
*Howe stoute, howe strong, howe great, howe longe,*  
*so euer be suche a freke*  
*But who so euer can handle a bowe*  
*sturdie stiffe and stronge*  
*Wherewith lyke layle manie chastes he shootes*  
*into the thickest thronge*  
*This profite he takes, that standing a far*  
*his enemy he maye spill*  
*Whan he and his full safe shall stande*  
*out of all daunger and ill*  
*And this in War is wisdomme moste, which*  
*workes our enemies woo*  
*Whan we shal be far from all feare*  
*and seoperdie of our foo*

Secondarily euen as I do not greatlye regarde what Menelaus doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, bycause he spake it bothe in anger, and also to hym that he hated, euen so doo I remembre very well in Homer, that when Hector and the Troians woulde

haue set fyre on the greke shippes, Teucer with his bowe made  
*Ilad 8* them recule backe agayne, when Menelaus tooke  
 hym to his feete, and ranne awaye

Thirdlye as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not dispraye  
 the noble gyfte of shotyng, but therby euery man is taught,  
 that whatsoeuer, and how good soeuer a weapon a man doth  
*Hom Il 4* vse in war, yf he be hym selfe a couetouse wretche,  
 a foole wythoute counsell, a peacebreaker as Pan-  
 darus was, at last he shall throughe the punishment of God fall  
 into his enemyes handes, as Pandarus dydde, whome Diomedes  
 throughe the helpe of Minerua miserablye slue

And bycause you make mencion of Homer, & Troye  
 matters, what can be more prayse for anye thyng, I praye  
 you, than that is for shootyng, that Troye coulede neuer be  
 destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge  
 doeth signifie, that although al the worlde were gathered in an  
 army togyther, yet without shotinge they can neuer come to  
 theyr purpose, as Vlysses in Sophocles very plainlye doth saye  
 vnto Pyrrhus, as concernyng Hercules shaftes to be caried vnto  
 Troye

*Soph phil* Nor you without them, nor with ut you they do ought

Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge parte of his bowe-  
 men, wherof he had plentie, into other mē  
*Xen Cyr.* warre, wherof he lacked, I will not greatlye  
*Instit 6* dispute whether Cyrus did well in that poynt in  
 those dayes or no, bycause it is not playne in Xenophon howe  
 strong shooters the Persians were, what bowes they had, what  
 shaftes and heades they occupied, what kynde of warre theyr  
 enemies vsed

But trulye as for the Parthians, it is playne, in Plutarche,  
 that in chaungyng theyr bowes in to speares, they  
*Plu 1 M* brought theyr selfe into vtter destruction For  
*Anton* when they had chased the Romaynes many a  
 myle, through reason of theyr bowes, at the last the Romaynes  
 ashamed of their fleing and remembryng theyr owlde noble-  
 nesse and courage, ymagined thys waye, that they woulde  
 kneele downe on theyr knees, and so couer all theyr body wyth  
 theyr shyldes and targattes, that the Parthians shaftes might  
 slyde ouer them, & do them no harme, whiche thing when the

Partis perceyued, thinking that y<sup>e</sup> Romaines were forweried with laboure, watche, and hūgre: they layed downe their bowes, and toke speres in their handes, and so ranne vpon them: but the Romaines perceyuinge them without their bowes, rose vp manfully, and slewe them euery mother son, saue a fewe that sauēd them selues with runnyng awaye. And herein our archers of Englande far passe the Parthians, which for suche a purpose, whē they shall come to hande strokes, hath euer redy, eyther at his backe hangyng, or els in his next felowes hande a leadē maule, or suche lyke weapon, to beate downe his enemyes withall. PHI. Well *Trophile*, seinge that those examples whiche I had thought to haue ben cleane agaynst shoting, you haue thus turned to the hygh prayse of shotinge: and all this prayse that you haue now sayd on it, is rather come in by me thā sought for of you: let me heare I praye you now, those examples whiche you haue marked of shotyng your selfe: whereby you are, and thinke to persuaue other, y<sup>t</sup> shoting is so good in warre. TOX. Exāples surely I haue marked very many: frō the begynning of tyme had in memorie of wrytyng, throughout all cōmune wealthes, & Empires of the worlde: wherof the mooste part I wyll passe ouer, lest I shoulde be tedious: yet some I wyll touche, bycause they be notable, bothe for me to tell and you to heare.

And bycause the storye of the Iewes is for the tyme moost auncient, for the truthe mooste credible, it shalbe moost fitte to begynne with them. And although I knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not the weapons, for all strength and victorie (sayth Iudas Machabeus) cōmeth from heauen: Yet surely strong weapons be the instru- *Mach 1. 3*  
 mentes wherwith god doth ouercome y<sup>t</sup> parte, which he wil haue ouerthrowen. For God is well pleased wyth wyse and wittie feates of warre. As in metinge of enemyes, for truse takyng, to haue priuilye in a bushment harness men layd for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus dyd wyth *Mach 2. 14*  
 Nicanor Demetrius capitayne. And to haue engines of warre to beat downe cities with all. and to haue scoutwatche amoges our enemyes to knowe their counsayles, as the noble captaine Ionathas brother to Iudas *Mach. 1. 12.*  
 Machabeus did in the countrie of Amathie against the mighty hoste of Demetrius. And besyde al this, god

is pleased to haue goodly tombes for them which do noble  
feates in warre, and to haue their ymages made, and also their

*Mach 1 13* cote Armour to be set aboute theyr tombes, to  
their perpetual laude and memorie as the valiaunt  
capitayne Symon, dyd cause to be made for his brethren Iudas  
Machabeus and Ionathas, whe they were slayne of the Gentiles  
And thus of what authoritie feates of warre, and strong  
weapons be, shortly and playnelye we maye learne But  
amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was  
nothing so occupied, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd  
insomoe that when the Iewes had any great vpperhande ouer  
the Gentiles, the fyrste thing alwayes that the captayne dyd,  
was to exhort the people to gyue all the thanks to God for

*Iosue 23* the victorye, & not to theyr bowes, wherwith they  
had slayne their enemyes as it is playne that  
the noble Iosue dyd after so many kynges thrust downe by hym

God, when he promyseth helpe to the Iewes, he vseth no  
kynde of speakyng so moche as this, that he wyll bende his  
bowe, and die his shaftes in the Gentiles blood

*Deutero 31* wherehy it is manifest, that eyther God wyll  
make the Iewes shoote stronge shotes to ouerthrowe their  
enemies or at leeste that shotinge is a woderful mightie thing  
in warre, whervnto y<sup>e</sup> hygh power of God is lykened Dauid  
in the Psalmes calleth bowes the vessels of death,

*Psal 7 63* a bytter thinge, & in an other place a myghty  
<sup>74</sup> power, and other wayes mo, which I wyll let  
passe, bycause euerye man readeth them daylye But yet one  
place of scripture I must nedes remembre, which is more  
notable for y<sup>e</sup> prayse of shoting, then any y<sup>t</sup> euer I red in any

*Regum 1 31* other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of  
y<sup>e</sup> Philistians being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas  
his sonne with him, that was so good a shoter, as y<sup>e</sup> scripture  
sayth, that he neuer shot shafte in vayne, and y<sup>t</sup> the kyngdome  
after Saules deathe came vnto Dauid the first statute & lawe

*Regum 2 1* that euer Dauid made after he was king, was this,  
that al y<sup>e</sup> children of Israel shulde learne to shote,  
according to a lawe made many a daye before y<sup>t</sup> tyme for the  
setting out of shoting as it is written (sayeth Scripture) in *libro*  
*Iustorum*, whiche booke we haue not now And thus we se  
plainelye what greate vse of shoting, and what prouision euen

from the begynnyng of the worlde for shotyng, was amonge the Iewes

The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen in somoche that when Cambyses king of Persie being in Egypt, sent certayne ambassadours into Ethiope to the kyng *Herodot<sup>o</sup> in Thalia* there, with many great gystes the king of Ethiop perceyuinge them to be espyes, toke them vp sharply, and blamed Cambyses greatly for such vniust enterprises but after that he had princely entertayned them, he sent for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vn bent it agayne, and sayde vnto the ambassadours, you shall comende me to Cambyses, and gyue him this bowe fro me, and byd him when any Persian can shote in this bowe, let him set vpon the Ethiopians In the meane whyle let hym gyue thanks vnto God, whiche doth not put in the Ethiopias mynde to cōquere any other mans lande This bowe, when it came amonge the Persians, neuer one man in suche an infinite host (as Herodotus doth saye) could styrre the stryng, saue onely Smerdis the brother of Cambyses, whiche styrred it two fingers, and no further for the which aft Cambyses had suche enuy at him, that he afterward slewe him as doth appeare in the storie

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in Egypt, ouercame a great parte of the worlde, and that by archers he subdued the Arabians, the Iues, the Assyrians he wet farther into Scythia then any man els he ouercame Thracia, euen to the borders of Germanie And in token how he ouercame al men he set vp in many places great ymages to his owne lykenesse, hauyng in the one hande a bowe, in the other a sharpe heeded shafte that men myght knowe, what weapon his hooste vsed, in conquering so manye people *Herod<sup>o</sup> in Ei terpe Diod Sic 2*

Cyrus, counted as a god amonges the Gentyles, for his noblenesse and felicitie in warre yet at the last when he set vpon the Massagetanes (which people *Herod<sup>o</sup> 1 clie* neuer went without their bowe nor their quier, nether in warre nor peace) he and all his were slayne, and that by shotyng, as appeareth in the storie

Polycrates the prince of Samos (a very litle yle) was lorde ouer all the Greke sees, and withstode the power of the Persians, onely by the helpe of a thousande archers *Herod<sup>o</sup> 1 that*

Artillarie was the thing, wherein both Europe and Asia at those dayes trusted moost vpon

The best parte of Alexanders hoste were archers as playnelye doth appeare by Arianus, and other y<sup>t</sup> wrote his life and those so stronge archers, that they onely, sundrye tymes ouercame

*Arianus 8* their enemies, afore any other neded to fyght as was sene in the battayl which Nearchus one of Alexanders capitaynes had besyde the ryuer of Thomeron And therfore as concerning all these kyngdomes and comune wealthes, I maye coclude with this sentence of Plinie, whose

*Plin lib 16* wordes be, as I suppose thus If any man would  
*Cap 36* remembre the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, the men of Inde, of Scythia, so many people in y<sup>e</sup> east of the Sarmatians, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subiection, ouercome by the myght and power of shotinge

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceded all other in vertue, noblenesse, and dominion litle metion is made of shoting, not bycause it was litle vsed amonges them, but rather bycause it was bothe so necessarye and comune, that it was thought a thing not necessarye or requyred of anye man to be spoken vpon, as if a man shoulde describe a greate feaste, he would not ones name bread, although it be mooste common and necessarye of all but surely yf a feaste beyng neuer so great, lacked bread, or had fewsty and noughty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vnsauery, and litle regarded, and than would men talke of the commodity of bread, when they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, when they had it And euen so dyd the Romaynes as concernynge shootyng Seldome is shootyng named, and yet it dyd the mooste good in warre, as didde appere, verry playnelye in that battell, whiche Scipio Aphrican<sup>9</sup> had with the Numantines in Spayne, whome he coulde neuer ouercome, before he sette bowemen amonges his horse men, by whose myght they were cleaue vanquished

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Ing  
*Cor Tac 1* uomerus princis of Germanie, had one wing of archers on horseback, an other of archers on foot, by whose might the Germanes were slayne downe ryghte, and

so scattered and beate oute of the fælde, that the chase lasted .x. myles, the Germanes clame vp in to trees for feare, but the Romanes dyd fetch them downe with theyr shaftes as they had be birdes, in whyche battell the Romaynes lost fewe or none, as dothe appeare in the historie.

But as I began to saye, the Romaynes dyd not so muche prayse the goodnesse of shootinge, whan they had it, as they dyd lament the lacke of it, whan they wanted it, as Leo the .v. the noble Emperour doth playnly testifie in sundrie places in those boke whiche he wrote in Greke, of the sleighthes and pollicies of warre. PHIL. Surelie of that booke I haue not heard before, and howe came you to the syghte of it. TOX. The booke is rare trulie, but this laste yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to ye kinges maiestie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very ofte in hys chäber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, whan I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynges, that euer he taketh in hande. And verily *Philologe*, as ofte as I remembre the departyng of that man from the vniuersitie, (whiche thinge I do not seldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moste helpe and furtheraunce to learnyng, to haue gon awaye with him. For by ye great cōmoditie y<sup>t</sup> we toke in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discommoditie in not hearyng of hym, Aristotle & Demosthenes, whiche ii authours with all diligence last of all he thought to haue redde vnto us. And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, & hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and styrred vp, by his counsell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forwarde the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that folowyng his footestepes, they myght comme to the same ende, wherevnto labour, lerning & vertue, had cōueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in



wrote for his delyueraunce, as Bel solis called kynge of kynges, Valerius kynge of Cadusia, Arthabesdes kyng of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom y<sup>e</sup> Parthians by reason of theyr artillerie, regarded neuer one whitte, and thus with the Romaynes, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the sunne rysinge and sunne settinge, as Tullye sayeth. but so farre they went, as artillarie woulde gyue them leaue For I thinke all the grounde that they had, eyther northewarde, farther than the borders of Scythia, or Eastewarde, farther than the borders of Parthia, a man myght haue boughte w<sup>t</sup> a small deale of money, of whiche thyng surely shotyng was the cause

From the same contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and Wandalianes came wyth the same wepons of  
*Paul Diaconus* artillarie, as Paulus Diaconus doth saye, & so berafte Rome of her empyre wyth fyre, spoyle, & waste, so y<sup>t</sup> in suche a learned citie was lefte scarce one man behynde, that had learnynge or leysoure to leue in writinge to them whiche shoulde come after howe so noble an Empyre, in so shorte a whyle, by a rable of banysht bondemen, wythoute all order and pollicie, saue onelye theyr naturalle and daylye exercise in artillarie, was broughte to suche thraldome and ruine

After them the Turkes hauing an other name, but yet the same people, borne in Scythia, brought vp onely  
*P. Melancthon* in artillarie, by the same weapon haue subdued and beraft from the Christen men all Asia and Aphrike (to speake vpon,) and the moost noble countries of Europe, to the greate diminishing of Christe his religion, to the great reproche of cowardyse of al christianitie, a manifest token of gods high wrath & displeasure ouer the synne of the worlde, but speciallye amonges Christen men, which be on slepe made drunke with the frutes of the flesh, as infidelitie, disobedience to Goddes worde, and heresie, grudge, euellwill, stryfe, contention, and priue enuye, coueytousnesse, oppression, vnmmercifulnesse, with innumerable sortes of vnspeakeable daylye bawdrye which thynges surely, yf God holde not his holy hande ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a more Turkishnesse and more beastlye blynde barbarousnesse as callyng ill thynges good, and good thynges ill, contemnyng of knowledge & learnynge, settinge at nought, and hauyng for

a fable, God and his high providence, wyll bring vs (I say) to a more vngacious Turkishnesse (if more Turkishnesse can be then this) tht if the Turkes had sworne, to bring al Turkye agaynst vs. For these frutes surelye must nedes sprynge of suche seede, and suche effect nedes folowe of suche a cause: if reason, trueth, and God, be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For surelye no Turkysh power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkysh lyfe do not cast vs downe before.

If god were wyth vs, it buted not the turke to be agaynst vs, but our vnfaythful sinfull lyuyng, which is the Turkes moder, and hath brought hym vp hitherto, muste nedes turne god from vs, because syn and he hath no felowshyp together. If we banished ill lyuyng out of christendome, I am sure the Turke shulde not onelye, not ouercome vs, but scarce haue an hole to runne in to, in his own countrye.

But Christendome nowe I may tell you Philologe is muche lyke a man that hath an ytche on him, and lyeth dröke also in his bed, and though a thefe come to the dore, and heaueth at it, to come in, and sleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratche him selfe wher it ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryse up lustelye, & dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and sleye hym. But I truste Christe wyl so lyghten and lyfte vp Christen mennes eyes, that they shall not slepe to death, nor that the turke Christes open enemy, shall euer boste that he hath quyte ouerthrowen vs. But as I began to tell you, shootyng is the chiefe thinge, wherewith God suffereth the turke to punysh our noughtie luinge wyth all.

The youthe there is brought vp in shotyng, his priue garde for his own person, is bowmen, the might of theyr shootyng is wel knowne of the Spanyardes, whiche at the towne called Newecastell in Illyrica, were quyte slayne vp, of the turkes arrowes whan the Spanyardes had no vse of theyr gunnes, by reason of the rayne. And nowe last of all, the emperour his maiestie him selfe, at the Citie of Argier in Aphricke had his hooste sore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonnes were quite dispatched and stode him in no seruice, bycause of the raine that fell, where as in suche a chaunce of raine, yf he had had bowmen, surelye there shoote myghte peraduenture haue bene a litle

*Cusp de re-  
bus Turc*

hundred, but quite dispatched and made, it could neuer haue bene

But as for the Turkes I am werie to talke of them partlie because I hate them, and partlie bycause I am now affectioned euen as it were a man that had bene longe wanderyng in straunge contries & would fayne be at home to se howe well his owne frendes prosper and leade theyr lyfe, and surely me thincke I am verie merie at my harte to remember how I shal finde at home in Englande amonges Englysh men, partlie by hystories, of them that haue gone afore vs, agayne by experience of the whych we knowe, & lyue with vs as greate noble feates of warre doone by Artillarie, as euer was done at any tyme in any other common welthe And here I

*Textor*

must nedes remeber a certaine Frechman called *Textor*, that writeth a boke whiche he nameth *Officina*, wherein he weueth vp many brokenended matters and setteth out much raffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage & beggerie ware clamped vp of one that would seme to be fitter for a shop in dede than to write any boke And amonges all other yll packed vp matters, he thrustes vp in a hepe togyther all the good shoters that euer hathe bene in the worlde as he saythe hymselfe, and yet I trow *Philologe* that of all the examples whiche I now by chauce haue rehersed out of the best Authors both in greke and latin, *Textor* hath but ii of them, which ii surely yf they were to reke agayne, I wold not ones name the, partly bycause they were noughtie persons, and shoting somoche the worse, bycause they loued it, as *Domitian* and *Commodus* the emperours partelye bycause *Textor* hath them in his boke, on whom I loked on bychance in the bookebynders shope, thynkynge of no suche matter And one thing I wyl say to you *Philologe*, that if I were disposed to do it, and you hadde leysure to heare it, I could soone do as *Textor* doth, and reken vp suche a rable of shoters that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng whyles tomorowe but my purpose was not to make mention of those which were feyned of Poetes for theyr pleasure, but of suche as were proued in histories for a truthe but why I bringe in *Textor* was this At laste when he hath reckened all shoters that he can, he sayeth thus, *Petrus Crinitus* wryteth, that the Scottes whiche dwell

beyonde Englande be verye excellent shooters, and the best bowmen in warre. This sentence whether Crinitus wrote it more leudly of ignoraunce, or Textor confirmeth it more piuyshlye of enuye, may be called in question and doubtē but this surely do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie, and also hath hearde his father or graundfather taulke (except perchaunce he was borne and bred in a Cloyster) after that sort of the shotynge of Englysshe men, that Textor neded not to haue gone so piuyshlye beyonde Englande for shoting, but myght very soone, euē in the first towne of Kent, haue founde suche plentie of shotinge, as is not in al the realme of Scotland agayne. The Scottes surely be good men of warre in theyr owne seate as can be but as for shotinge, they neyther can vse it for any profyte, nor yet wil chalege it for any prayse, although master Textor of his gēlenesse wold gyue it them. Textor neded not to haue fylled vppē his booke with suche lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlande, whiche Ioannes Maior doeth wryte: wherein he myghte haue learned, that *Iohn Ma 6* when James Stewart fyrst kyng of that name, at the Parliamēt holden at Saynt Iohnnes towne or Perthie, commaunded vnder payne of a greate forfytte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote yet neyther the loue of theyr coutrie, the feare of their enemies, the auoydyng of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that myght come by it, coulde make them to be good Archers whiche be vnaptē and vnfyttē therunto by Gods prouidence and nature

Therefore the Scottes them selues proue Textor a lyer, bothe with authoritie and also daily experience, and by a certayne Prouerbe that they haue amonges them in theyr comunicacion, wherby they gyue the whole prayse of shotynge honestlye to Englysshe men, saying thus that euery Englysshe Archer beareth vnder his gyrdle xxiii Scottes

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go yet one thyngē woulde I wyshe for the Scottes, and that is this, that seinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakynge, one maner and trade in lyuynge, lyke courage and constancie in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Englande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two but cleane

gyue ouer the Pope, which seeketh none other thnge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man doth knowe) but to fede vp disention & parties betwixt them & vs, procuring that thyng to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold haue one

Howe profytable suche an attonement were for Scotlande, both Iohannes Maior, and Ector Boetius which wrote the Scottes Chronicles do tell, & also all the gentlemen of Scotlande with the poore cōmunaltie, do wel knowe So that there is nothing that stoppeth this matter, saue onelye a fewe freers, and suche lyke, whiche with the dregges of our Englysh Papistrie lurking now amonges them, study nothing els but to brewe battell and stryfe betwixt both the people Wherby onely they hope to maynetayne theyr Papisticall kyngdome, to the destruction of the noble blood of Scotlande, that then they maye with authoritie do that, whiche neither noble man nor poore man in Scotlande yet doeth knowe And as for Scottishe men and Englishe men be not enemyes by nature, but by custome not by our good wyll, but by theyr owne follye whiche shoulde take more honour in being coupled to Englande, then we shulde take profite in being ioyned to Scotlande

Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe, iustice, ciuilitie and ordre and then was amōges them more stealing thā true dealing, more suretie for them that studyed to be noughte, then quyetnesse for them that laboured to be good when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englande, there is no cōuntrye better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get bothe true and plentifull lyuynge withall And this felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these fewe dayes shal chaūce also to Scotlande, by the godly wysdome of oure mooste noble Prince kynge Henrye the viii by whome God hath wrought more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before as banishing the byshop of Rome and herisie, bringyng to light god his worde and veritie, establishing suche iustice and equitie, through euery parte of this his realme, as neuer was sene afore

To suche a Prince of suche a wysdome, God hath reserued this mooste noble attonement wherby neither we shalbe any more troubled, nor the Scottes with their best

countries any more destroyed, nor y<sup>e</sup> see, whiche God ordeyneth profytable for both, shall from eyther be any more stopped to the great quietnesse, wealth & felicitie of all the people dwellynge in this Ile, to the high renoume & prayse of our moost noble kyng, to the feare of all maner of nacions that owe ill wyll to either countrie, to the hygh pleasure of God, which as he is one, and hateth al diuision, so is he best of all pleased, to se thinges which be wyde and amysse, brought to peace and attonement But Textor (I beshrowe him) hath almooste brought vs from our cōmunicatio of shoting Now sir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of England farre exceedeth all other realmes but yet one thing I doubt & longe haue surely in that point doubted, whē, or by whom, shotyng was first brought in to Englande, & for the same purpose as I was ones in companye wyth syr Thomas Eliot knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege bringeth much worshyp to all the nobilite of Englande, I was so bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as cocernyng the bryngyng in of shootyng in to Englande he aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Anglie*, which I trust we shal se in print shortlye, and for the accomplyshmente of that boke, he had read & perused ouer many olde monumetes of Englande, and in seking for that purpose, he marked this of shootyng in an excedyng olde cronicle, the which had no name, that what tyme as the Saxons came first into this realme in kyng Vortigers dayes, whē they had bene here a whyle and at last began to faull out with the Brittons, they troubled and subdewed the Brittons wyth nothyng so much, as with theyr bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beyng straunge & not sene here before, was wonderfull terrible vnto them, and this beginnyng I can thynke verie well to be true But now as concerning many exiples for the prayse of English archers in warre, surely I wil not be long in a matter y<sup>t</sup> no mā doubteth in, & those few y<sup>t</sup> I wil name, shal either be proued by y<sup>e</sup> histories of our enemies, or els done by men that now liue

Kyng Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie against Philip y<sup>e</sup> Freche kung as Gaguinus the frech Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, slewe that daye all the nobilite of Fraunce onlye wyth hys archers

Such lyke battel also fought y<sup>e</sup> noble black prince Edward beside Poeters, where Iohn y<sup>e</sup> french king w<sup>t</sup> hys sonne & in a maner al y<sup>e</sup> peres of Fraunce were taken beside xxx M which that daye were slayne, & verie few Englyshe men, by reason of theyr bowes

Kynge Henrie the fiste a prince pereles and moste vjctonouse conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Dagin court with vii M fyghtyngemen, and yet many of them sycke, beyng suche Archers as the Cronycle sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, slewe all the Cheualrie of Fraunce to the number of XL M and moo, and lost not paste .xxvi Englysshe men

The bloudye Ciuil warre of England betwixt the house of Yorke and Lancaster, where shaftes slewe of both sydes to the destruction of mannye a yoman of Englande, whome forene battell coulde neuer haue subdewed bothe I wyll passe ouer for the pytyefulnesse of it, and yet maye we hyghelye prayse GOD in the remembraunce of it, & eyng he of hys prouydence hath so knytte to gether those ii noble houses, with so noble and pleasunte a flowre

The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde nowe Duke of Northfolk, for whose good prosperite w<sup>t</sup> al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray w<sup>t</sup> bowme of England slew kyng Iamie w<sup>t</sup> many a noble Scot eue brat agest Flodo hil, in which battel y<sup>e</sup> stoute archers of Cheshire & Lanchasshire for one day bestowed to y<sup>e</sup> death for their price & coutry sake, hath gotten immortall name and prayse for euer

The feare onely of Englysh Archers hathe done more wonderfull thinges than euer I redde in anye historye greke or latin, and moost wonderfull of all now of late beside Carl le betwixt Eske and Leuen at Sandy sikes, where the hooles nobilite of Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englonde (next the stroke of God) as both Englysh men and Scotyshe men that were present hath toulde me were drowened and taken prisoners

Nor that noble acte also, whyche althoughe it be almost lost by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthinesse, whyche my synguler good frende and Master Sir William Walgraue and Sir George Somerset dyd with a few Archers to y<sup>e</sup> number as it is sayd of xvi at the Turne pike besyde Hames where they

turned with so fewe Archers, so many Frenchemen to flight, and turned so many oute of theyr lackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to shame & reproche and those ii noble Knightes to perpetuall prayse & fame

And thus you se Philologe, in al contries Asia, Aphrike and Europe, in Inde, Aethiop, Aegypt & Iurie, Parthia, Persia, Grece, and Italie, Schythia, Turkey, and Englande, from the begynninge of the world euen to thys daye, that shotynge hath had the cheife stroke in warre PHI These examples surelye I apte for the prayse of shotynge, not feyned by poetes, but proued by trewe histories, distinct by tyme and order, hath delyted me excedyng muche, but yet me thynke that all thys prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and drawynge of myghtye bowes not to prickynge and nere shotinge, for which cause you and many other bothe loue & vse shootynge TOX Euer more Philologe you wyl haue some ouertwhart reson to drawe forthe more communication w<sup>th</sup>all, but neuertheless you shall perceauie if you wyl, that vse of prickynge, and desyre of nere shootynge at home, are the onelye causes of stronge shootynge in warre and why? for you se, that the strongest men, do not drawe alwayes the strongest shoote, whiche thyng prouethe that drawinge stronge, liethe not so muche in the strength of man, as in the vse of shootynge And experience teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lipe and turnyng of his arme, take vp a barre of yron, y<sup>t</sup> another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre And a strong man not vsed to shote, hath his armes breste and shoulders, and other partes wherewith he shuld drawe stronglye, one hindering and stoppage an other, euen as a dosen stronge horses not vsed to the carte, lettes & troubles one another And so the more stronge man not vsed to shote, shootes moost vnhusumlye, but yet if a strong man with vse of shooting coule applye all the partes of hys bodye togyther to theyr moost strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shoote better than other But nowe a stronge man not vsed to shoote, at a girde, can heue vp & plucke in sūder many a good bowe, as wild horses at a brunte doth race & pluck in peces many a stronge carte And thus strong mē, without vse, can do nothyng in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shoote, yet they haue



done within a shoote or two when a weake man that is vsed to shoote, shal serue for all tymes and purposes, and shall shoote x. shaftes, agaynst the others iiii & drawe them vp to the poynthe, euerye tyme, and shoote them to the mooste aduantage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he list, markyng at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man whiche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at ouerthwarte meatinges, when fewe archers be togyther, they do moste good of all

Agayne he that is not vsed to shoote, shall euermore with vntowardnesse of houldyng his bowe, & nockyng his shafte, not lookyng to his stryng betyme, put his bowe alwayes in reoperdy of breakyng, & than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shaftes, and those full vnhandsumlye, some not halfe drawen, some to hygh and some to lowe, nor he can not driue a shoote at a tyme, nor stoppe a shoote at a neede, but oute muste it, and verye ofte to euel profe PHI And that is best I trow in war, to let it go, and not to stoppe it TOX No not so, but somtyme to houlde a shafte at the heade, whyche if they be but few archers, doth more good with the feare of it, than it shoulde do if it were shot, with the stroke of it PHI That is a wonder to me, y<sup>e</sup> the feare of a displeasure, shoulde do more harme than the displeasure it selfe TOX Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be banyshe, out of hys cuntrye, can neyther be mery, eate, drynke nor sleape for feare, yet when he is banished in dede, he slepeth and eateth, as well as any other And many menne doubtyng and fearyng whether they shoulde dye or no, euen for verye feare of deathe, preuenteth them selfe with a more bytter deathe then the other death shoulde haue bene in dede And thus feare is euer worse than the thyng feared,

*Cir. p. 3* as is pratelye proued, by the communication of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges sunne of Armenie, in Xenophon

PHI I grante Toxophile, that vse of shotyng maketh a man drawe strong, to shoote at most aduantage, to kepe his gere, whiche is no small thinge in war, but yet me thinke, that the customable shoting at home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothyng at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good in war Therefore I suppose yf men shulde vse to goo

into the fcyldes, and learne to shote myghty stronge shootes, and neuer care for any marke at al, they shulde do muche better **TOX** The trouth is, that fashion muche vsed, woulde do muche good, but this is to be feared, least that waye coulde not prouoke men to vse muche shotyng, bycause ther shulde be lytle pleasure in it And that in shoting is beste, y<sup>t</sup> prouoketh a man to vse shotinge moste For muche vse maketh men shoote, bothe strong & well, whiche two thinges in shootinge, euery man doeth desyre And the chyeefe mayn tayner of vse, in any thyng, is comparyson, and honeste contention For whan a manne stryuech to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vse that thing, though it be neuer so paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thyng Aristotle verrye pratelye doth note, sayenge

Where is comparison, there is victorie where is victorie, there is pleasure And where is pleasure, no man careth what labour or payne he taketh, bycause of the prayse, and pleasure, that he shal haue, in doynge better than other men

*Aristo rh to  
al Theod*

Agayne, you knowe Hesiodus wryteth to hys brother Perses, y<sup>t</sup> al craftes men, by contending one honestly w<sup>t</sup> an other, do encrease theyr cūnyng w<sup>t</sup> theyr substance And therfore in London, and other great Cities, men of one craft, moste commonly, dwelle togyther, bycause in honest stryuyng togyther, who shall do best, euery one maye waxe bothe cunninger and rycher, so lykewyse in shootyng, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contende who shall shoote best, and winne the game, encreaseth y<sup>e</sup> vse of shotyng wonderfully amonges men

*Hesio i ope  
et die*

**PHI** Of Vse you speake very much Toxophile but I am sure in al other matters, Vse can do nothing, wythoute two other thinges be ioyned wyth it, one is a natural Aptnesse to a thinge, the other is a true waye or Knowledge, howe to do the thing, to which ii yf Vse be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre, procedeth perfectnesse and excellencie If a manne lacke the first two, Aptnesse and Cunnyng, Vse can do lytle good, at all For he y<sup>t</sup> woulde be an oratour and is nothyng naturallye fitte for it, that is to saye lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh a good voyce, countenaunce and body, and other suche I ke, ye[t] yf he had all these thinges, and knewe

of when they haue begonne, and moost of all to shote both worse & weaker, then they might shote, if they were taught But peradventure some men wyll saye, that wyth vse of shootyng a man shall learne to shote, true it is he shall learne, but what shal he learne? marye to shote noughtly For all Vse, in all thynges, yf it be not stayed with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do y<sup>e</sup> thyng, what so euer he goeth aboute with muche illfaurednes and deformitie

Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both  
*De Orat* 1 Crassus excellencie dothe proue in Tullie, and I  
 my selfe haue experiens in my lytle shootyng  
 And therfore Toxophile, you must nedes graunt me that ether  
 Englishe men do il, in not ioynyng Knowlege of shooting to  
 Vse, or els there is no knowlege or cūinge, which can be  
 gathered of shooting TOX. Learning to shote is lytle  
 regarded in England, for this consideration, bycause men be so  
 apte by nature they haue a greate redy forwardnesse and wil to  
 vse it, al though no man teache them, al thoughe no man byd  
 them, & so of theyr owne corage they rūne hedlyng on it, and  
 shote they ill, shote they well, greate hede they take not And  
 in verie dede Aptnesse w<sup>t</sup> Vse may do sumwhat without Know-  
 lege, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were ioyned with  
 knowlege

Whyche thre thynges be seperate as you se, not of theyr  
 owne kynde, but through the negligence of me whyche coupleth  
 them not to gyther And where ye doubtte whether there can  
 be gadered any knowlege or arte in shootyng or no, surely  
 I thynke that a mā being wel exercised in it and sumwhat  
 honestly learned with all, myght soone with diligent obseruyng  
 and markyng the hole nature of shootyng, find out as it were  
 an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters haue bene founde oute  
 afore, seynge that shootyng stadeth by those thinges, which  
 maye both be thorowlye perceued, and perfityly knowen, and  
 suche that neuer failes, but be euer certayne, belongynge to one  
 moost perfect ende, as shootyng streight, and keping of a lenght  
 bring a man to hit the marke, y<sup>e</sup> chiefe end in shootyng which  
 two thynges a man may attaine vnto, by diligent vsynge, and  
 well handlyng those instrumentes, which belong vnto them  
 Therefore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the nature of  
 Shootyng, an Arte, whiche by notyng, and obseruyng of

him, that is exercised in it, yf he be any thyng learned at al, maye be taught, to the greate forderuance of Artillarie through out al this Realme And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that Englysshe men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shootynge, seinge they be so apte vnto it, so praysed of there frendes, so feared of there ennemyes for it Vegetius woulde haue maysters appoynted, whyche shoulde teache youthe to shoote faire Leo the Emperour of Rome, sheweth the same custome, to haue bene alwayes amongst ye olde Romaines whych custome of teachyng youth to shoote (saythe he) after it was omitted, and litle hede taken of, brought the hole Empire of Rome, to grete Ruine *Schola Persica*, that is the Scole of the Persians, appoynted to brynge vp youthe, whiles they were xx yeres olde in shooting, is as notably knowne in Histories as the Impire of ye Persians whych schole, as doth apere in Cornelius Tacitus, as sone as they gaue ouer and fell to other idle pastimes, brought bothe them and ye Parthians vnder ye subiection of the Romaines Plato would haue common maisters and stipendes, for to teache youthe to shoote, & for the same purpose he would haue a brode feylde nere euery Citie, made common for men to vse shotyng in, whyche sayeng the more reasonably it is spoken of Plato, the more vnreasonable is theyr dede whiche woulde ditche vp those feeldes priuatly for ther owne profyt, whyche lyeth open generallye for the commō vse men by suche goodes be made rycher not honester sayeth Tullie Yf men can be perswaded to haue shootynge taughte, this aucthorite whyche foloweth will perswade them, or els none, and that is as I haue ones sayde before, of Kynge Dauid, whose fyrste acte and ordinaunce was after he was kynge that all Iudea should learne to shoote Yf shotyng could speake, she would accuse England of vnkyndnesse and slouthfulnesse, of vnkyndnesse toward her bycause she beyng left to a lytle blynd vse, lackes her best maintener which is cunnyng of slouthfulnesse toward her owne selfe, bycause they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and vse doth graunt them in shootynge, and wyl seke for no knowlege as other noble cōmon welches haue done and the iustlier shootynge myght make thys complaynt, seynge that of fence and weapons

hath so manye faultes And thys waye euery wyse man doth folow in teachynge any maner of thyng As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good he setteth not before hym Socrates lyfe whyche was y<sup>e</sup> best man, but chiefe goodnesse it selfe accordynge to whych he would haue a man directe his lyfe

TOX This waye which you requyre of me *Philologe*, is to hard for me, and to hye for a shooter to taulke on, & take as I suppose out of the middes of Philosophie, to serche out the perfite ende of any thyng, y<sup>e</sup> which perfite ende to fynde out, sayth Tullie, is the hardest thyng in the worlde,

*Ora ad Bru* the onely occasyon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnynge And althoughe as Cicero saith a man maye ymagine and dreame in his mynde of a perfite ende in any thyng, yet there is no experience nor vse of it, nor was neuer sene yet amonges men, as alwayes to heale the sycke, euer more to leade a shyppe without daunger, at al times to hit the prick shall no Physicion, no shypmaster, no shoter euer do And Aristotle saith that in

*Arist. 2<sup>a</sup> 2. 6* all deades there are two pointes to be marked, possibilitie & excecucie, but chesely a wise ma must folow & laye hand on possibilitie for feare he lease bothe Therefore seyng that which is moost perfect and best in shootynge as alwayes to hit y<sup>e</sup> pricke, was neuer sene nor hard tel on yet amoges men, but onelye ymaged and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck this is the wisest counsell & best for vs to folow rather that which a man maye come to, than y<sup>t</sup> whyche is vnpossible to be attained to, lest iustely that sayeng of y<sup>e</sup> wyse mayde Ismene in Sophocles maye be verified on vs

*Soph. Anti.* A foole he is that takes in bande he can not ende

PHI Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as perfittlye knowne, as the perfite ende of shotynge is, there had neuer bene so manye sectes of Philosophers as there be, for in shoting both man & boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pryck is mooste perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that we shal not nede gretly contend in this matter But now sir, whereas you thynke y<sup>t</sup> a man in learning to shoote or any thyng els, shuld rather wyselye folow possibilitie, th<sup>t</sup> vainly seke for perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue y<sup>t</sup> euery wyse man, y<sup>t</sup> wisely wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute y<sup>t</sup>

whervnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come And you youre selfe I suppose shal confesse y<sup>e</sup> same to be y<sup>e</sup> best way in teachyng, yf you wyl answere me to those thinges whych I wyl aske of you TOX And y<sup>t</sup> I wyl gladlye, both bycause I thynke it is vnpossible for you to proue it, & also bycause I desire to here what you ca saye in it. PHI The studie of a good Physiciō Toxophile, I trow be to know al diseases & al medicines fit for them TOX It is so in dede PHI Bicause I suppose he would gladly at al tymes heale al diseases of al men TOX Ye truely PHI A good purpose surely, but was ther euer physicio yet among so many whyche hath laboured in thys study, that at al times coulede heale all diseases? TOX No trewly, nor I thyncke neuer shalbe PHI Than Physicions by lyke, studie for y<sup>t</sup>, whiche none of them cometh vnto But in learning of fence I pray you what is y<sup>t</sup> which men moost labor for? TOX That they may hit a nother I trow & neuer take blow theyr selfe PHI You say trothe, & I am sure euery one of the would faine do so whe so euer he playethe But was there euer any of the so conning yet, which at one tyme or other hath not be[n] touched? TOX The best of them all is glad somtyme to escape with a blowe PHIL Thā in fence also, men are taught to go aboute that thing, whiche the best of them all knowethe he shall neuer attayne vnto Moreouer you that be shoters, I pray you, what meane you, whan ye take so greate heade, to kepe youre standyng, to shoote compasse, to looke on your marke so diligently, to cast vp grasse diuerse tymes and other thinges more, you know better thā I What would you do thā I pray you? TOX Hit y<sup>e</sup> marke yf we could PHIL And doth euery ma go about to hit the marke at euery shoote? TOX By my trothe I trow so, and as for my selfe I am sure I do PHIL But al men do not hit it at al tymes TOX No trewlye for that were a wonder PHIL Can any man hit it at all tymes? TOX No man verlie PHIL Than by likely to hit the pricke alwayes, is vnpossible For that is called vnpossible whych is in no man his power to do TOX Vnpossible in dede PHIL But to shoote wyde and far of the marke is a thyng possyble TOX No man wyl denie that PHIL But yet to hit the marke alwayse were an excellent thyng TOX Excellent surelie PHIL thā I am

sure those be wiser men, which couete to shoote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke **TOX** Why so I pray you **PHIL** Because to shote wyde is a thyng possyble, and therfore as you saye youre selfe, of euery wyse mā to be folowed And as for hittinge ye prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a vaine thyng to go aboute it but in good sadnesse *Toxophile* thus you se that a man might go throghe all craftes and sciences, and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal neuer gette **TOX** By my trowth (as you saye) I can not denye, but they do so but why and wherfore they shulde do so, I can not learne **PHILO** I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science standeth in two thynges in Knowing of his crafte, & Working of his crafte For perfyte knowlege bringeth a man to perfyte working This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, shomakers, and all other craftes men, to be true Nowe, in euery crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knowen in a mannes mynde, then folowed in a mannes dede This perfytenesse, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al me, no one particuler man is able to compasse it and as it is generall to al men, so it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thyng for man vnpossible although not for the capacitie of our thinking whiche is heauenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our working whyche is worldlye

God gyueth not full perfytenesse to one man (sayth Tullie) lest if one man had all in any one science, ther shoulde be nothyng lefte for an other Yet God suffereth vs to haue the perfyte knowledge of it, that such a knowledge dilligently folowed, might bring forth accordyng as a man doth labour, perfyte woorkyng And who is he, that in learnynge to wryte, woulde forsake an excellent example, and folowe a worse? Therefore seing perfytenesse it selfe is an example for vs, let euerye man studye howe he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wysdome, not reason with God why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curiosite **TOX** Surely this is gaily said Philologe, but yet this one thinge I am afraide of, lest this perfitenesse which you speke on wil discourage men to take any thyng in hande, bycause afore they begin, they know, they shal neuer come to an ende And thus dispayre shall dispatche, euen at the fyrste entrynge in, many a good

man his purpose and intente And I thinke both you your selfe, & al other men to, woulde counte it mere folie for a man to tell hym whome he teacheth, that he shal neuer optaine that, whyche he would fainest learne And therfore this same hyghe and perfite waye of teachyng let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as for shootyng it shalbe content with a meaner waye well ynoughe PHI Where as you saye y<sup>t</sup> this hye perfittnesse will discourage me, bycause they knowe, they shall neuer attayne vnto it, I am sure cleane contrarie there is nothyng in the world shall incourage men more than it And whye? For where a man seith, that though a nother man be neuer so excellent, yet it is possible for hym selfe to be better, what payne or labour wyl that man refuse to take? yf the game be onse wonne, no m<sup>a</sup> wyl set forth hys foote to ronne And thus perfittnesse beyng so hyghe a thyng that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beyng so plentifull and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulnesse of it maye prouoke all men to labor, bycause it hath ynoughe for all me, the indifferencye of it shall encourage euerye one to take more paine than hys fellowe, bycause euerye man is rewarded accordyng to his nye cōmyng, and yet whych is moste meruel of al, y<sup>e</sup> more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other, as Socrates dyd in wysdome, and Cicero in eloquens, whereby other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deepe y<sup>e</sup> better And thus perfittnesse it selfe bycause it is neuer obteyned, euen therfore only doth it cause so many men to be so well sene & perfite in many matters, as they be But where as you thynke y<sup>t</sup> it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in loking at the most perfittnesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other way to worke, I trust no wyse man wyl discomend that way, except he thinke himselfe wyser than Tullye, whiche doeth playnlye saye, that yf he taught any maner of *De Orat* 3  
 crasfe as he dyd Rhetorike he would labor to  
 bringe a man to the knowlege of the moost perfittnesse of it, whyche knowlege should euer more leade and gyde a manne to do that thyng well whiche he went aboute Whych waye in al maner of learnyng to be best, Plato dothe also declare in Euthydemus, of whome Tullie learned it as he dyd many other thynges mo And thus you se Toxophile by what reasons and by whose autorite I do require of you this waye in teachyng



me to shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delare shew me as far forth as you haue noted and marked  
 TOX You cal me to a thyng Philologe whch I am lothe to do And yet yf I do it not beinge but a smale matter as you thynke, you wyll lacke frendeshyp in me, yf I take it in hande and not bring it to passe as you woulde haue it, you myghte thyncke great wāt of wyedome in me

But aduyse you, seing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the blame shalbe yours, as well as myne yours for puttyng vpon me so instauntlye, myne in receyuyng so fondly a greater burthen then I am able to beare Therefore I, more wyllinge to fulfyll your mynde, than hopying to accomplysh that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a master of shotyng, but as one not altogyther ignoraunt in shotyng And one thyng I am glad of, the sunne drawinge downe so fast into the west, shall compell me to drawe a pace to the ende of our matter, so that his darkenesse shall somethyng cloke myne ignoraunce. And bycause

you knowe the orderynge of a matter better  
 then I Aske me generallye of it, and I

shall particularly answer to it PHI

Very gladly Toxophile for so

by ordre, those thynges

whiche I woulde

knowe, you shal

tell the bet-

ter and

those

thynges

whiche you shall tell, I

shall remembre

the better

# TOXOPHI- LVS. B.

## THE SECONDE BOOKE OF the schole of shotyng.

**PHIOL.** What is the cheyfe poynte in shootyng, that euerye manne laboureth to come to? **TOX.** To hyt the marke. **PHI.** Howe manye thynges are required to make a man euer more hyt the marke? **TOX.** Twoo. **PHI.** Whiche twoo? **TOX.** Shotinge streyght and kepyng of a lengthe. **PHI.** Howe shoulde a manne shoote strayght, & howe shulde a man kepe a length? **TOX.** In knowyng and hauyng things, belongyng to shootyng and whan they be knowen and had, in well handlyng of them whereof some belong to shotyng strayght, some to keping of a legth, some commonly to them bothe, as shall be tolde seuerally of them, in place conuenient. **PHI.** Thynges belongyng to shotyng, whyche be they? **TOX.** All thinges be outward, and some be instrumentes for euery sere archer to bryng with him, proper for his owne vse other thynges be generall to euery man, as the place and tyme serueth. **PHI.** which be instrumentes? **TOX.** Bracer, shotynggloue, stryng, bowe & shafte. **PHI.** Whiche be general to all men? **TOX.** The wether and the marke, yet the marke is euer vnder the rule of the wether. **PHI.** wherin standeth well handlyng of thynges? **TOX.** All togyther wythin a man him selfe, some handlyng is proper to instrumentes, some to the wether, somme to the marke, some is within a man hym selfe. **PHI.** what handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes? **TOX.** Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsing, wherby cometh fayre shotyng, whiche neyther belong to wynde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a rayne and at no marke, a man may shote a fayre shoote. **PHI.** well sayde, what handlyng belongeth to the

wether? FOX Knowyng of his wynde, with hym, agaynst hym, syde wynd, ful syde wind, syde wynde quarter with him, syde wynde quarter agaynste hym, and so forthe PHI well thin go to, what handlynge belongeth to the marke? TOX To marke his standyng, to shote compasse, to draw euermore lyke, to lowse euermore lyke, to consyder the nature of the pricke, in hylles & dales, in strayte planes and winding places, & also to espy his marke PHI Very well done And what is onely within a man hym selfe? FOX Good heede gyuyng, and auoydyng all affections whiche thynges ostentymes do marre and make all And these thynges spoken of me generally and bresely, yf they be wel knowen, had, and handled, shall brynge a man to suche shootyng, as fewe or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of the, he can neuer hyt the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke But as in all other matters the fyrst steppe or stayre to be good, is to know a mannes faulte, and than to amende it, and he that wyl not knowe his faulte, shall neuer amende it PHI You speake nowe Toxophile, euen as I wold haue you to speake But lette vs retorne agayne vnto our matter, and those thynges whyche you haue packed vp, in so shorte a rume, we wyll lowse the forthe, and take euery pyece as it were in our hande and looke more narrowlye vpon it TOX I am content, but we wyll rydde them as fast as we can, bycause the sunne goeth so faste downe, and yet somewhat muste needes be sayde of euerye one of them PHI well sayde, and I trowe we beganne wyth those thynges whiche be instrumentes, whereof the fyrste, as I suppose, was  
the Braser TOX Little is to be sayd of the  
*Bracer* braser A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the stryng, and his doublet from wearyng, and the other is, that the stryng glydyng sharpelye & quicklye of the bracer, maye make the sharper shoote. For if the stryng shoulde lyght vpon the bare sleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe so muche bent, that the stryng neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so shoulde a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none In a bracer a man muste take hede of iii thinges, y<sup>t</sup> it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles,

that it be fast on with laces wythout aggettes For the nayles wyl shere in sunder, & mānes string, before he be ware, and so put his bowe in ieperdy Buckles and aggettes at vnwares, shall race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euill to the syghte, & perillous for freatyng And thus & Bracer, is onely hrd for this purpose, that the stryng maye haue redye passage PHI In my Bracer I am cunning ynough, but what saye you of the shootyng gloue

**I O X** A shootyng Gloue is chieflye, for to saue a mannes fyngers from hurtyng, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe stryng to the vttermost of his strengthe And whan a man shooteth, the might of his shoote lyeth on the formooste fynger, and on the Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longest, lyke a lubber starteth backe, and beareth no weyght of the stryng in a maner at all, therefore the two other fyngers, muste haue thicker lether, and that muste haue thickest of all, where on a man lowseth moste, and for sure lowsying, the formoste finger is moste apte, bycause it holdeth best, & for yt purpose nature hath as a man woulde saye, yocked it w<sup>t</sup> the thombe Ledder, if it be nexte a mans skynne, wyl sweat, waxe hard and chafe, therefore scarlet for the softnes of it and thicknesse wyth all, is good to sewe wythin a mānes gloue If that wylle not serue, but yet youre finger hurteth, you muste take a searyng cloth made of fine virgin waxe, and Deres sewet, & put nexte your fynger, and so on wyth youre gloue If yet you fele your fynger pinched, leaue shootyng both because than you shall shoote nought, & agayn by litle & lytle, hurtyng your finger, ye shall make it longe and longe to or you shoote agayne A newe gloue pluckes many shootes bycause the stringe goeth not freelye of, and therefore the fingers muste be cut short, and trimmed with some ointment, that the string maye glyd wel awaye Some with holdyng in the nocke of theyr shafte too harde, rub the skyn of there fingers For this there be ii remedies, one to haue a goose quyll splettyd and sewed againste the nockyng, betwixt the lining and the ledder, whyche shall helpe the shoote muche to, the other waye is to haue some roule of ledder sewed betwixt his fingers at the setting on of the fingers, which shall kepe his fingers so in sunder, that they shal not hold the nock so fast as they did The shootyng gloue hath a purse whych shall serue

to put fine linen cloth and wax in, twoo necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vse gloues or other suche lyke thyng on their bow had for chafyng, bycause they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to laye where a man holdeth his bow and thus muche as concernynge your gloue And these thynges althoughe they be trifles, yet bycause you be but a yonge shoter, I woulde not leue them out PHI And so you shal do me moost pleasure

The string I trow be the next TOX The next in dede

*Stringe* A thing though it be lytle, yet not a litle to be regarded But here in you muste be contente to put youre truste in honest stringers And surely stringers ought more diligently to be looked vpon by the officers tha ether bower or fletcher, bycause they may deceyue a simple man the more easelyer An ill stringe brekethe many a good bowe, nor no other thyng half so many In warre if a string breke the man is loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoughe he haue two stringes put one at once, yet he shall haue small leasure & lesse rouse to bend his bow, therfore god send vs good stringers both for war and peace Now what a stringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe as they do now a dayes, or of flaxe or of silke, I leue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we muste bye

*Eustathius* them on Eustathius apou this verse of homere

*Twag q̄ the bow, & tuag q̄ the string, out quicklie the shaft flue*  
*Iliad 4*

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of bullox thermes, whiche they twyned together as they do ropes, & therfore they made a great twange Bowe strynges also hath bene made of the heare of an horse taylor called for the matter of them Hippias as dothe appeare in manye good authors of the

*Fourinus* Greke tongue Great stringes, and lytle strynges be for diuerse purposes the great string is more surer for the bowe, more stable to pricke wythal, but slower for the cast, the lytle stringe is cleane contrarye, not so sure, therfore to be taken hede of, leste with longe tarynge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to shoote farre, than apte to pricke nere, therfore when you knowe the nature of bothe bigge and

lytle, you must fit your bow, according to the occasion of your shootinge. In stringinge of your bow (though this place belong rather to the handling than to the thing it selfe, yet by cause the thyng, and the handlinge of the thyng, be so ioyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the one wyth the other,) you must mark the fit length of youre bowe. For if the stryng be to short, the bending wyll gye, and at the last slyp and so put the bowe in ieopardye. If it be longe, the bendinge must nedes be in the smal of the string, which beyng sore twined muste nedes knap in sunder to y<sup>e</sup> destruction of manye good bowes. Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be well nocked for sure the sharpnesse of the horne shere a sunder the stryng. And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthe it wyth all. You must marke also to set youre stryng strevght on, or elles the one ende shall wriethe contrary to the other, and so breke your bowe. When the stryng begynneth neuer so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it for it is an yll saued halpeny y<sup>t</sup> costes a man a crowne. Thus you se howe many ieopardyes hangethe ouer the selve poore bowe, by reason onelye of the stryng. As when the stryng is shorte, when it is longe, whe eyther of the nockes be nought, when it hath but one wap, and when it taryeth ouer longe on. **PHI** I se wel it is no meruell, though so many bowes be broken. **TOX** Bowes be broken twise as many wayes besyde these. But a gayne in stringyng youre bowe, you must loke for muche bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shootyng faster and farther shoote, and y<sup>e</sup> cause therof is, bycause the stryng hath so far a passage, or it parte wyth the shafte. The greate bende hath many commodities for it maketh easier shootyng the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the stryng stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so sone hit a mannes sleue or other geare, by the same reason. It hurteth not the shaft fedder, as the lowe bende doeth. It suffereth a man better to espye his marke. Therefore lette youre bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftement and ii fyngers at the least, for these which I haue spoken of. **PHI** The bracer, gloue, and stryng, be done, now you muste come to the

profyt muche) and also do greate comodite to the hole Realme If any men do offend in this poynte, I am afraide they be those iourney me whiche labour more spedily to make manye bowes for theyr owne monye sake, than they woorke dilligently to make good bowes, for the common welth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes, thys wyse prouerbe

*Sane ynough, if wel ynough*

Wherwyth euere honest handye craftes man shuld measure, as it were wyth a rule, his worke withal He that is a iourney man, and rydeth vpon an other mannes horse, yf he ryde an honest pace, no manne wyll dysalowe hym But yf he make Poste haste, bothe he that oweth the horse, and he peraduenture also that afterwarde shal bye the horse, may chaunce to curse hym

Suche hastinesse I am afraide, maye also be found amonges some of the, whych through out ye Realme in diuerse places worke ye kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynge yf they get a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good ynough for bearynge gere And thus that weapon whiche is the chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle seruyce to hym that shoulde vse it, bycause it is so negligentlye wrought of him that shuld make it, when trewlye I suppose that nether ye bowe can be to good and chiefe woode, nor yet to well seasoned or truly made, wyth hetynge and tillerynges, nether that shafte to good wood or to thorowely wrought, with the best pinion fedders that can be gotten, wherwith a man shal serue his prince defende his countrie, and saue hym selfe frome his enemye And I trust no man wyll be angrie wyth me for spekyng thus, but those which finde them selfe touched therin which ought rather to be angrie wyth them selfe for doynge so, than to be discontent wyth me for saynge so And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me, scinge this is spoken also after that sorte, not for the notynge of anye person seuerallye, but for the amendynge of euerye one generallye But turne we agayne to knowe a good shootynge bowe for oure purpose

Euerye bowe is made eyther of a bough, of a plante or of the boyle of the tree The boughc is monlye is verye knotty, and full of p nnes, weak, of small p the, and some wyll folowe

the stringe, and seldome werith to anye fayre coloure, yet for chyl dren & yonge beginners it mye serue well ynoughe. The plante proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene groweth, and for the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyl plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yonge thinges do. The boole of y<sup>e</sup> tree is clenest w<sup>o</sup>ut knot or pin, hauinge a faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stronge and myghtye of cast, and best for a bow, yf the staues be euen clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouerwharte the woode, but as the graine and streight growyng of the woode leade the a man, or elles by all reason it must some breake, & that in many shiuers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, & when the bow staues be ouerwrought and facioned. For in dressing and pikynge it vp for a bow, it is to late to loke for it. But yet in these poyntes as I sayd before you muste truste an honest bowyer, to put a good bow in youre hand, somewhat lookinge your selfe to those tokens whyche I shewed you. And you muste not sticke for a grote or xii d more than a nother man would giue yf it be a good bowe. For a good bow twise paide for is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a shooter muste begyn not at the makynge of hys bowe lyke a bower, but at the bynge of hys bow lyke an Archere. And when his bow is bought and brought home, afore he truste muche vpon it, let hym trye and trym it after thys sorte.

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth deade heauye shaftes, looke where he comethe moost, prouyde for that place betymes, leste it pinche and so freate whe you haue thus shot in him, and perceyued good shootynge woode in hym, you must haue hym agayne to a good cunnyng, and trustie workeman, whyche shall cut hym shorter, and pike hym and dresse hym fyttter, make hym comme rounde compace euery where, and whippingg at the endes, but with discretion, lest he whyp in sunder or els freete, soner than he is ware of, he must also lay hym streght, if he be caste or otherwise nede require, and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shootynge, and also the surer for nere pryckynge. PHI. What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute a bow, which shal both than please



But take hede y<sup>t</sup> youre bowe stande not to nere a stone wall, for that wyll make hym moyste and weke, nor yet to nere any fier for that wyll make him shorte and brittle And thus muche as concernyng the sauynge and kepynge of {y}our bowe nowe you shall heare what thynges ye must auoide, for feare of breakyng your bowe

A shooter chaunseth to breake his bowe commonly in thre wayes, by the stryng, by the shafte, by drawyng to far, & by freates By the stryng as I sayde afore, whan the stryng is eyther to shorte, to long, not surely put on, wyth one wap, or put croked on, or shorne in sundre wyth an euell nocke, or suffered to tarye ouer longe on Whan the stryng fayles the bowe muste nedes breake, and specially in the myddes, because bothe the endes haue nothyng to stop them, but whippes so far backe, that the belly must nedes violentlye rise vp, the whyche you shall well perceyue in bendyng of a bowe backward Therefore a bowe that soloweth the stryng is least hurt with breakyng of strynges By the shafte a bowe is broke ether when it is to short, and so you set it in your bow or when the nocke breakes for lytlennesse, or when the stryng slyppes wythoute the nocke for wydenesse, than you poule it to your eare and lettes it go, which must nedes breake the shafte at the leaste, and putte stringe and bow & al in iopardy, bycause the strength of the bowe hath nothyng in it to stop the violence of it

Thys kynde of breakyng is mooste perillouse for the standers by, for in such a case you shall se some tyme the ende of a bow flye a hoole score from a ma, and that moost commonly, as I haue marked oft the vpper ende of the bowe The bow is drawne to far in thre wayes Eyther when you take a longer shafte then your owne, or els when you shyfte your hand to low or to hye for shootyng far Thys waye pouleth the backe in sunder, and then the bowe fleeth in manye peces

So when you se a bowe broken, hauynge the bellye risen vp both wayes or tone, the stringe brake it When it is broken in twoo peces in a maner euen of and specyallye in the vpper ende, the shafte nocke brake it

When the backe is pouled a sunder in manye peces, to farre drawyng brake it.

These tokens eyther alwayes be trewe or els verye seldome mysse

The fourthe thing that breketh a bow is fretes, which make a bowe redye and apte to breake by any of the iii wayes afore sayde. Fretes be in a shaft *I fretes* as well as in a bowe, and they be muche lyke a Canker, crepyng and encreasyng in those places in a bowe, whyche be weaker then other. And for thys purpose must your bowe be well trymmed and piked of a cōning man that it may come rounde in trew compasse euery where. For fretes you must beware, yf your bowe haue a knot in the backe, lest the places whyche be nexte it, be not alowed strong ynoughe to bere wt the knotte, or elles the stronge knotte shall freate the weake places nexte it. Fretes be fyrst litle pinchese, the which whē you perceaue, pike the places about the pinches, to make them somewhat weker, and as well commyng as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and neuer encrease farther in to great fretes.

Fretes begynne many tymes in a pin, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it muste nedes be weke, and by cause it is weake, therfore it fretes. Good bowyers therfore do rayse euery pyn & alowe it moore woode for feare of freatyng.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so muche as some men suppose for the moistnesse of the hande, as for the heete of the hand. the nature of heate sayeth Aristotle is to lowse, and not to knyt fast, and the more lowser the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate. A bowe is not well made, which hath not wood plentye in the hande. For yf the endes of the bowe be staffyshe, or a mans hande any thyng hoot the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedie for fretes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freted place as stronge or stronger then any other. To fill vp the freate with litle sheuers of a quill and glewe (as some saye wyll do wel) by reason must be starke nought.

For, put case the frete dyd cease then, yet the cause whiche made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must nedes make it freate agayne. As for cuttyng out of fretes wythe all maner of pecyng of bowes I wyll cleane exclude from perfite shootyng. For pced bowes be muche lyke owlde housen, whyche be more chargeable to repaire, than commodiouse to dwell in. Agayne to swadde a bowe much about wjth bandes, verye seldome dothe anye

good, excepte it be to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyse bandes ether nede not when the bow is any thinge worthe, or els boote not whē it is marde & past best And although I knowe meane and poore shooters, wyl vse peced and banded bowes sometyne bycause they are not able to get better when they woulde, yet I am sure yf they consyder it well, they shall fynde it, bothe lesse charge and more pleasure to ware at any tyme a couple of shyllinges of a new bowe than to bestowe x d of peacyng an olde bowe For better is coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth And thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me referre all to perfittnesse in shootynge

Moreouer there is an other thyng, whyche wyl sone cause a bowe be broken by one of the iii wayes which be first spoken of, and that is shotynge in winter, when there is any froste Froste is wheresoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frozen and Isie, wyl rather breke than bende Yet if a man must nedes shoote at any suche tyme, lette hym take hys bowe, and brynge it to the fyre, and there by litle and litle, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, whiche shall bring it to that poyn, yt he maye shote safelye ynough in it This rubbyng with waxe, as I sayde before, is a great succour, agaynst all wete and moystnesse

In the fyeldes also, in goynge betwyxt the pricks eyther wyth your hande, or elles wyth a clothe you muste keepe your bowe in suche a temper And thus muche as concernynge youre bowe, howe fyrste to knowe what wood is best for a bowe, than to chose a bowe, after to trim a bowe, agayne to keepe it in goodnesse, laste of al, howe to saue it from al harm and euylnesse

And although many men can saye more of a bow yet I trust these thynges be true, and almoste sufficient for the knowlege of a perfecte bowe PHI Surely I beleue so, and yet I coulde haue hearde you talke longer on it althogh I can not se, what maye be sayd more of it Therefore excepte you wyl pause a whyle, you may go forwarde to a shafte

TOX What shaftes were made of, in oulde tyme authours  
*Here endeth* do not so manifestlye shewe, as of bowes Herodotus doth tel, that in the flood of Nilus, ther

was a beast, called a water horse, of whose skinnē after it was dried, the Egyptians made shaftes, and dartes on The tree called *Cornus* was so common to make *Sen Hipp* shaftes of, that in good authours of y<sup>e</sup> latyn tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a shafte, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill,

*Volat Itala Cornus*

*Virg ena 9*

Yet of all thynges that euer I warked of olde authours, either greke or latin, for shaftes to be made of, there is nothing so comon as reedes Herodotus in describyngē the mightie hoost of Xerxes doth tell that thre great contries vsed shaftes made of 1 rede, the Aethiopians, the *In Polym* Lycians (whose shaftes licked fethers, where at I maruayle moste of all) and the men of Inde The shaftes in Inde were verje longe, a yarde and an halfe, as *Arrianus 8* Arrianus doth saye, or at the least 1 yarde, as *Q Curt 8* Q Curtius doth saye, and therfore they gaue y<sup>e</sup> greater stry pe, but yet bycause they were so long, they were the more vnhandsome, and lesse profitable to the men of Inde, as Curtius doeth tell

In Crete and Italie, they vsed to haue their shaftes of rede also The best reede for shaftes grewe in Inde, *Plt 16 36* and in Rhenus 1 flood of Italy

But bycause suche shaftes be neyther easie for Englishe men to get, and yf they were gotten scarce profitable for them to vse, I wyll lette them passe, and speake of those shaftes whyche Englysh men at this daye moste cōmonly do approue and allowe

A shaft hath three principall partes, the stele, the fethers, and the hevd whereof euerje one muste be seuerallye spoken of

¶ Steles be made of dyuerse woodes, as,

Brasell.  
Turkie wood  
Fusticke  
Sugercheste  
Hardbeame  
Byrche  
Asshe  
Ooke

Seruis tree  
 Hulder  
 Blackthorne  
 Beche  
 Elder  
 Aspe  
 Salow

These wooddes as they be most commonly vsed, so they be mooste fit to be vsed yet some one fitter then an other for diuers mennes shotinge, as shalbe toulde afterwarde And in this pointe as in a bowe you muste truste an honest fletcher Neuerthelesse al thoughe I can not teache you to make a bowe or a shafte, whiche belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to come to theyr lyuyng, yet wyll I shewe you some tokens to knowe a bowe & a shafte, whiche pertayneth to an Archer to come to good shootyng.

A stele muste be well seasoned for Castinge, and it must be made as the grayne lieth & as it groweth or els it wyl neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouertwhart and agaynste the wulle, can neuer hoose a manne cleane A knotty stele maye be suffered in a bygge shafte, but for a lytle shafte it is nothyng fit, bothe bycause it wyll neuer flye far, and besydes that it is euer in danger of breakyng, it flieth not far by cause the strengthe of the shoote is hundred and stopped at the knotte, euen as a stone cast in to a plaine euen stil water, wyll make the water moue a greate space, yet yf there be any whurlyng plat in the water, the mouyng ceasethe when it commethe at the whyrlyng plat, whyche is not muche vnylike a knotte in a shafte yf it be cōsidered wel So euery thyng as it is plaine and streight of hys owne nature so is it fittest for far mouyng Therefore a stele whyche is harde to stade in a bowe, without knotte, and streighte (I meane not artificiallye streighte as the fletcher dothe make it, but naturally streight as it groweth in the wood) is best to make a shaft of, eyther to go cleane, fly far or stand surely in any wedder Now howe big, how small, how heuye, how lyght, how longe, how short, a shafte shoulde be particularlye for euerye man (seyng we must taulke of the generall nature of shootyng) can not be toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoynt any one kynde of wordes, of sentences, of fygures

fyt for euery matter, but euen as the man and the matter requyeth so the fyttest to be vsed. Therfore as concernynge those contraries in a shafte, euery man muste woyde them and draw to the meane of them, whyche meane is best in al thynges. Yet yf a man happen to offende in any of the extremes it is better to offend in want and scantnesse, than in to muche and outrigiose excedynge. As it is better to haue a shafte a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght, than ouer lumpysse, a lytle to small, than a greite deale to big, which thyng is not onely trewlye sayde in shootynge, but in all other thynges that euer man goeth aboute, as in eatynge, taulkynge, and all other thynges lyke, which matter was onse excellentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when

And to offend, in these contraries cometh much yf men take not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wherof the shaft is made. For somme wood belöges to y<sup>e</sup> excedyng part, some to y<sup>e</sup> scat part, some to y<sup>e</sup> meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fusticke, Sugar cheste, & such lyke, make derde, heuy lüpysh, hobbling shaftes. Againe Hulder, black thorne, Serues tree, Beche, Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr weknes or lightnesse, make holow, starting, scudding, giddyng shaftes. But Birche, Hardbeme, some Ooke, and some Asshe, beyng bothe stronge ynoughe to stande in a bowe, and also lyght ynoughe to flye far, are best for a meane, which is to be soughte oute in euery thinge. And althoughe I knowe that some me shoote so stronge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and other some so weeke, that the lowse woodes be lykewyse for them bigge ynoughe yet generally for the moost parte of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude, that is alwayes beste for a man, which is metest for him. Thus no wood of his owne nature, is eyther to lyght or to heuy, but as the shooter is him selfe whyche dothe vse it. For that shafte which one yeare for a man is to lyghte and scuddinge, for the same selfe man the next yeare may chaunce be to heuy and hobblinge. Therfore can not I expresse, excepte generally, what is best wood for a shaft, but let euery mā when he knoweth his owne strength and the nature of euery wood, prouyde and fyt himselfe thereafter. Yet as concerning sheaffe *Arrouse for war (as I suppose)* it were better to make them of good Asshe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes. For of

delyuerunce of a shoote And double nocking is used for double suerty of the shaft And thus far is concernyng a hoole stele

Peecyng of a shafte with brusell and holie, or other heavy woodes, is to make y<sup>e</sup> ende compasse heavy with the fethers in flyng, for the stedfaster shotyng For if the ende were plumpe heavy wyth leyd and the wood nexte it lighte, the heid ende woulde euer be downwardes, and neuer flye straight

Two poyntes in peecyng be ynough, lest the moystnes of the earthe enter to moche into the peecyng, & so leuse the glue Therefore many poyntes be more plesant to the eye, than profitable for the vse

Some vse to peece theyr shaftes in the nocke wyth brasel, or holie, to counterwey, with the head, and I haue sene some for the same purpose, bore an hole a lytle bineth the nocke, and put leade in it But yet none of these wayes be anye thing needful at al, for y<sup>e</sup> nature of a fether in flyng, if a man marke it wel, is able to bear vp a wonderful weyght and I thike suche peecyng came vp first, thus whan a good Archer hath broken a good shafte, in the fethers, & for the fantasie he hath had to it, he is lothe to leese it, & therefore doeth he peece it And than by and by other eyther bycause it is gaye, or elles because they wyl haue a shafte lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peece them agayne A thyng by my iudgement, more costlye than needfull

And thus haue you heard what wood, what fasshion, what nockyng, what peecyng a stele muste haue Nowe foloweth the fetheryng

PHI I woulde neuer haue thought you could haue sayd halfe so muche of a stele, and I thynke as concernyng the litle fether and the playne head, there is but lytle to saye TOX Lytle, yes trulye for there is no one thing, in al shotyng, so moche to be loked on as the fether For fyrste a question maye be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a shaft or no? if a fether onelye be fit, whether a goose fether onely, or no? yf a goose fether be best, then whether there be any difference, as concernyng the fether of an oulde goose, and a younge goose a gander, or a goose a fennye goose, or an vplandish goose Againe which is best fether in any goose, the ryght wing or the left wing, the pinion fether, or any other

fether a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in setting on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen w<sup>th</sup> a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is y<sup>e</sup> hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farre from the nocke, set on streight, or som what bowyng? & whether one or two fethers runne on the bowe Fourthly in couling or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somewhat swyne backed (I muste vse shoters wordes) or saddle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked PHI Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletchers (although daylye they haue these thynges in vre) if they were asked sodeynly, what they coulede saye of a fether, they could not saye so moch But I praye you let me heare you more at large, expresse those thynges in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a rowme And fyrst whether any other thyng may be vsed for a fether or not TOX That was y<sup>e</sup> fyrste poynte in dede, and bycause there foloweth many after, I wyll hye apace ouer them, as one that had manye a myle to ride Shiftes

Pl 16 36  
J Pol 1 10  
Her Polym

to haue had alwayes fethers Plinius in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I reade in Herodotus to haue vsed shiftes without fedders. Onelye a fedder is

fit for a shafte for 11 causes, fyrste bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll starte vp after y<sup>e</sup> bow So, Plate, wood or horne can not serue, bycause the[y] wil not gyue place Againe, Cloth, Paper, or Parchment can not serue, bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therefore a fedder is onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe Nowe to looke on the fedders of all maner of birdes, you shal se some so lowe weke and shorte, some so course, stoore and harde, and the rib so brickle, th n and narrow, that it can nether be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that except it be a swan for a dead shafte (as I knowe some good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte whiche lastes but one shoote, there is no fether but onelye of a goose that hath all commodities in it And trewelye at a short but, which some mā doth vse, y<sup>e</sup> Pecoock fether doth seldome kepe vp y<sup>e</sup> shaft eyther ryght or leuel, it is so roughe and heuy, so that many me which haue taken them vp for gryenesse, hathe layde them downe agayne



for profyte, thus for our purpose, the Goose is best fether, for the best shoter PHI No that is not so, for the best shoter that euer was used other fethers. TOX Ye are you so cunninge in shootynge I praye you who was that PHI Hercules whiche had hys shiftes fethered with Eagles fethers as Hesiodus dothe saye TOX Well as for *Hesiod in Scua Her* Hercules, seynge nether water nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarce contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughe a sely poore gouse fether could not plesse him to shoote wythal, and agayne as for Eagles they flye so hye and bulde so fir of, yt they be very hard to cōe by Yet welfare the gentle gouse which bringeth to a man euen to hys doore so manye excedynge commodities For *A Gouse* the gouse is m<sup>is</sup> cosorte in war & in perce slepyng and wakyng What prayse so euer is giuen to shootynge the gouse may challenge the beste parte in it How well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe elselye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed? How fit euen as her fethers be onely for shootynge, so be her quylles fyte onelye for wrytyng PHILO In deade Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you giue to a gouse yet, and surelye I would haue sayde you had bene to blame yf you had ouerskypte it TOX The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so muche bycause a gouse wyth cryng saued theyr Capitoliū and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter as Propertius doth say very pretely in thys verse

*Anseris et tutum uoce fuisse louem*

*Id est*

*Propertius*

*Theues on a night had stolne Iupiter, had a gouse not a kekede*

Dyd make a golden gouse and set hir in the top of ye Capitoliū, & appoynted also the Censores to alow out of ye common hutchē yearly st pedes for ye findinge of certayne Geese, ye Romaynes did not I saye giue al thys honor to a gouse for yt good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which cōme daylye to a man by Geese, and surelye yf I should declame in ye prayse of any maner of beest luyng, I would chose a gouse But the gouse hath made vs flee to farre from oure matter Now sir ye haue hearde howe a fether must be had, and that a goose fether onely It foloweth of a yong gose and an oulde, and the residue belonging to a fether

*Lucretius  
De 5*

fether a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in setting on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen w<sup>t</sup> a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is y<sup>e</sup> hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farte from the nocke, set on streight, or som what bowyng? & whether one or two fethers runne on the bove Fourthly in couling or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somewhat swyne backed (I muste vse shoters wordes) or saddle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked

PHI Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletchers (although daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were asked sodeynly, what they coude saye of a fether, they could not saye so moch But I praye you let me heare you more at large, expresse those thynges in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a rowme And fyrst whether any other thyng may be vsed for a fether or not

FOX That was y<sup>e</sup> fyrste poynte in dede, and bycause there foloweth many after, I wyll hye apace ouer them, as one that had manye a myle to ride Shaftes to haue had alwayes fethers Plinius in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I reade in Herodorus to haue vsed shaftes without fedders. Onelye a fedder is fit for a shafte for ii causes, fyrste bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll starte vp after y<sup>e</sup> bow So, Plate, wood or horne can not serue, bycause the[y] wil not gyue place Againe, Cloth, Paper, or Parchment can not serue, bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therfore a fedder is onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe. Nowe to looke on the fedders of all maner of burdes, you shal se some so lowe weke and shorte, some so course, stoore and harde, and the rib so brickle, thin and narrow, that it can nether be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that except it be a swan for a dead shafte (as I knowe some good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte whiche lastes but one shoote, there is no fether but onelye of a goose that hath all commodities in it. And trewelye at a short but, which some mā doth vse, y<sup>e</sup> Pecoock fether doth seldome kepe vp y<sup>e</sup> shaft eether ryght or leuel, it is so roughe and heuy, so that many me which haue taken them vp for gayenesse, hathe layde them downe agayne

Fr 16 36.

I Pol 1 10.

Her Polym

for profyte, thus for our purpose, the Goose is best fether, for the best shoter PHI No that is not so, for the best shoter that euer was used other fethers. TOX Ye are you so cunninge in shootynge I praye you who was that PHI Hercules whiche had hys shiffes fethered with Egles fethers as Hesiodus dothe saye TOX Well as for Hercules, seynge nether witer nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarce contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughe a sely poore gouse fether could not plesse him to shoote wyth, and agayne as for Egles they flye so hie and builde so fir of, yt they be very hard to cōe by Yet welfare the gentle gouse which bringeth to a man euen to hys doore so manye excedynge commodities For the gouse is m<sup>is</sup> cōforte in war & in perce slepyng and wakyng What prayse so euer is gyuen to shootynge the gouse may chalenge the beste parte in it How well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe cōselye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed? How fit euen as her fethers be onelye for shootynge, so be her quylles fytt onelye for wrytyng PHILO In dede Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you gaue to a gouse yet, and surelye I would haue sayde you had bene to blame yf you had ouerskyp<sup>t</sup> it TOX The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so muche by cause a gouse wyth cryng saued theyr Capitoliū and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter as Propertius doth say very pretely in thys verse

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*Lucretius  
De 5*

daunger of wether, & fitter for smothe fliing Agayn to shere a shaft rounde, as they were wount somtime to do, or after the triangle fashion, whiche is muche vsed nowe a dayes, bothe be good For roundnesse is apte for flynge of his owne nature, and all maner of triangle fashion, (the sharpe poynte goyng before) is also naturally apte for quicke entrynge, and therefore

*De uis der* sayth Cicero, that cranes taught by nature, obserue in flynge a triangle fashion alwayes, because it is so apt to perce and go thorowe the ayer wythall Laste of all pluckinge of fethers is nough't, for there is no suerty in it, therefore let every archer haue such shaftes, that he maye bothe knowe them and trust them at every chaunge of wether Yet if they must nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as can be, for so shal they be the lesse vconstante And thus I haue knit vp in as shorte a rounge as I coulede, the best fethers fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte PHI I thynke surelye you haue so taken vp the matter wyth you, y<sup>e</sup> you haue lesse nothyng behinde you Nowe you haue brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concernyng all instrumentes belonging to shootyng.

FOX Necessitie, the inuentour of all goodnesse (as all authours in a maner, doo saye) amonges all other thinges inuented a shaft heed, firste to saue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to stycke better, after it made it of strog matter, to last better Last of all experience and wysedome of men, hathe brought it to suche a perfittnesse, that there is no one thing so profitable, belonging to artillane, either to stryke a mannes enemye sorer in warre, or to shoote nerer the marke at home, then is a fitte heed for both purposes For if a shaft lacke a heed, it is worth nothyng for neither vse Therefore seinge heedes be so necessary, they must of necessitie, be wel looked vpon Heedes for warre, of longe tyme haue ben made, not onely of diuers matters, but also of diuers fashions The Troians had heedes of yron, as this verse spoken of Pandarus, sheweth

*Vp to the pappe his string did he full, his shaft t the harte yr n*  
*Ilados 4*

The Grecians had heedes of brasse, as Vlysses shaftes were

heeded, when he slewe Antinous, and the other wowers of Penelope

*Quite through a dore, flew a shafte with a brasse heed*  
*Odysse 21*

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafte, y<sup>e</sup> the heedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the cōmentaries in Greke playne-  
 lye tell And therefore shoters at that tyme to  
*Iliados 4*  
 cary their shaftes withoute heedes, vntill they occupied them, and than set on an heade as it apereth in Homer the *xxi* booke *Odysse*, where Penelope brought Vlixes bowe downe amonges the gentlemen, whiche came on wowing to her, that he whiche was able to bende it and drawe it, might intoye  
*Odysse 21*  
 her, and after her folowed a mayde sayth Homer, carienge a bagge full of heades, bothe of iron and brasse

The men of Scythia, vsed heades of brasse The men of  
 Inde vsed heades of yron The Ethiopians vsed heades of a  
 harde sharpe stone, as bothe Herodotus and Pollux  
 do tel The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus  
 doeth saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone,  
*Hero*  
 and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and now, use  
 heades of horne, but of all other yro and sty le muste nedes  
 be the fittest for heades  
*Cho*  
*Polym*

Iulius Pollux calleth otherwyse than we doe, where the  
 fethers be the head, and that whyche we call the  
 head, he calleth the poynte  
*I Pol 1 10*

Fashion of heades is diuers and that of olde tyme two  
 maner of arrowe heades sayeth Pollux, was vsed in olde tyme  
 The one he calleth *ὄγκινος* descrybynge it thus, hauyng two  
 poyntes or barbes, looking backwarde to the stele and the  
 fethers, which surely we call in Englishe a brode arrowe head  
 or a swalowe taylor The other he calleth *γλαυχίς*, hauyng 11  
 poyntes stretchyng forward, and this Englysh men do call  
 a forkehead bothe these two kyndes of heades, were vsed in  
 Homers dayes, for Teucer vsed forked heades, sayinge thus to  
 Agamemnon

*Eighte good shaftes haue I shot siſte I came, eche one wyth a*  
*forke heade*  
*Iliad 8*

Pandarus heades and Vlysses heades were broode arrow

dwelling in London perceyvinge the commoditie of both kynde of heades ioyned wyth a discommoditie, inuented newe files and other instrumentes where wyth [t]he[s] broughte heades for pryckynge to such a perfittnesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other heades should be put in one heade wyth out anye discommoditie at all. They made a certayne kynde of heades whiche men call hie rigged, creased, or shouldred heades, or syluer spone heades, for a certayne lykenesse that suche heades haue wyth the knob ende of some syluer spoones.

These heades be good both to kepe a length wythall and also to perche a wynde wythall, to kepe a length wythall bycause a man maye certaynly poule it to the shouldrynge euery shooe and no farther, to perche a wynde wythall bycause the pointe from the shoulder forward, breketh the wether as al other sharpe thynges doo. So the blonte shoulder seruethe for a sure lengthe kepynge, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and greate wether Percyng. And thus much as shortlye as I could, as concernyng heades both for war & peace. PHI But is there no cunning as concerning setting on of y<sup>e</sup> head? TOX Wel remēbred. But that poynt belongeth to fletchers, yet you may desyre hym to set youre heade, full on, and close on. Full on is whan the wood is be[n] hard ip to the ende or stoppyng of the heade, close on, is when there is lesse wood on euery syde the shafte, ynoughe to fyll the head wythall, or when it is neyther to litle nor yet to greate. If there be any faulte in anye of these poyntes, y<sup>e</sup> head whan it lyghteth on any hard stone or grounde wil be in ieoperdy, eyther of breakynge, or els otherwyse hurtyng. Stoppyng of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thyng els, shall not nede now, bycause euery syluer spone, or sholdred head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heades be better than longe. For firste the longe head is worse for the maker to fyle strayght compace euery waye agayne it is worse for the fletcher to set strayght on thyrdlie it is alwayes in more ieoperdie of breakinge, whan it is on. And nowe I trowe Philologe, we haue done as concernyng all Instrumentes belongyng to shootyng, whiche euery sere archer ought to prouyde for hym selfe. And there remayneth n thynges behinde, whiche be generall or comon to euery man the Wether & the Marke, but because they be so knit wyth shootyng strayght, or kepyng of a lengthe, I wyll deferre them to that

place, and now we will come (God wylling) to handle oure instrumentes, the thing that euery man desireth to do wel  
PHI If you can teache me so well to handle these instrumentes as you haue described them, I suppose I shalbe an archer good ynough  
TOX To learne any thing (as you knowe better than I Philologe) & speciallye to do a thing w<sup>th</sup> a mannes handes, must be done if a man woulde be excellent, in his youthe  
Yonge trees in gardens, which lacke al senses, and berstes w<sup>th</sup>out reson, when they be yong, may with handling and teaching, be brought to wonderfull thynges And this is not onely true in natural thinges, but in artificiall thinges to, as the potter most connyngly doth cast his pottes whan his claye is softe & workable, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, & leathie weke, not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde and euen so, euerye man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is mooste apte and pliable to receyue any cunnyng tht shulde be taught hym

This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifold benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me & for his sake do I owe my seruice to all other of the name & noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede Thys worshipfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnynge in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from Londo bothe bowe and shaftes And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyelde, & se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot illfaouredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better

Woulde to god all Englande had vsed or wolde vse to lay the foundation of youth, after the example of this worshipful man in bringyng vp chyl dren in the Booke and the Bowe by whiche two thynges, the hole common welth both in peace and warre is cheselye ruled and defended wythall

But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfectnes in shootyng whiche we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in

Englande, bothe maketh fewer shooters, and also euery man that is a shoter, shote warse than he myght, if he were taught PHI Euen as I knowe that this is true, whiche you saye, euen so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootynge, seinge by this reason, no man y<sup>t</sup> hath not vsed it in his youthe can be excellent in it And I suppose the same reson woulde discourage many other mo, yf they hearde you talke after this sorte TOX This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wyse For I wyll proue y<sup>t</sup> wisdom maye worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a chylde

A chylde by thre thinges, is brought to excellencie By Aptnesse, Desire, and Feare Aptnesse maketh hym pliable lyke waxe to be formed and fashioned, euen as a man woulde haue hym Desyre to be as good or better, than his felowes and Feare of them whome he is vnder, wyl cause hym take great labour and payne with diligent hede, in learnynge any thinge, wherof procedeth at the laste excellency and perfectnesse

A man maye by wisdom in learnynge any thing, and specially to shoote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as it were become younge agayne, and so attayne to excellencie For as a childe is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vsyng at the firste weake bowes, far vnderneath his strength, shal be as pliable and readye to be taught fayre shotyng as any chylde and daylye vse of the same, shal both kepe hym in fayer shotyng, and also at y<sup>e</sup> last bryng hym to stronge shootynge

And in stede of the feruente desyre, which prouoketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp with shamefastnes to be worse than all other And the same place that feare hathe in a chylde, to compell him to take payne, the same hath loue of shotyng in a man, to cause hym forsake no labour, withoute whiche no man nor chylde can be excellent And thus whatsoeuer a chylde may be taught by Aptnesse, Desire, & Feare, the same thing in shootynge, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamefastnesse and Loue

And hereby you may se that that is true whiche Cicero sayeth, that a man by vse, may be broughte to a newe nature



And this I dare be bould to saye, that any man whiche will wisely begynne, and constantlye perseuer in this trade of learnyng to shote, shall attayne to perfectnesse therein PHI  
This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that moste generally & chesfly youthe muste be taughte to shoote, and secondarilye no man is debarred therfrom excepte it be more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitye, bicause he can not lerne Therefore seyng I wyll be gladd to folowe your counsell in chosynge my bowe and other instrumentes, and also am ashamed that I can shote no better thā I can, moreouer hauynge suche a loue toward shotynge by your good reasons to day, that I wyll forsake no labour in the exercise of the same, I beseeche you imagin that we had bothe bowe and shaftes here, and teache me how I should handle them, and one thyng I desyre you, make me as fayre an Archer as you can

For thys I am sure in learnynge all other matters, nothyng is broughte to the moost profytable vse, which is not handled after the moost cumlye fasio As masters of fice haue no stroke fit ether to hit an other or els to defende hym selfe, whyche is not ioyned wyth a wonderfull cumlinesse A Cooke cā not chop hys herbes neither quickelye nor hansomlye excepte he kepe suche a mesure wyth hys choppyng kniues as woulde delyte a manne bothe to se hym and heare hym

Euerie hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte, workes most semelye to other mens sight Agayne in buyldynge a house, in makynge a shyppe, euerie parte the more hansomely they be ioyned for profyt and laste, the more cumlye they be fashioned to euerie mans syght and eye Nature it selfe taught men to ioyne alwayes welfauourednesse w<sup>th</sup> profytablenesse As in man, that ioynt or pece which is by anye chaunce depriued of hys cumlynesse the same is also debarred of hys vse and profytablenesse

As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys sight sore blemmyshed, and so in all other members lyke Moreouer what tyme of the yere bryngeth mooste profyte wyth it for mans vse, the same also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wyth moost cūlynesse for mans pleasure And that tyme which

take the awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carrieth w<sup>t</sup> hym also the profyt of the grounde, as euery man by experience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thynges there be whych haue no other ende, but onely cumlynesse, as paynting, and Daunsing. And vertue it selfe is nothyng eles but cumlynesse, as al Philosophers do agree in opinion, therfore seyng that whych is best done in anye matters, is alwayes moost cumlye done as both Plato and Cicero in manye places do proue, and daylye experience dothe teache in other thynges, I praye you as I sayde before teache me to shoote as fayre, and welfauouredly as you can imagen.

**TOX** Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in other matters, the best shootyng, is alwayes the moost cumlye shootyng but thys you know as well as I that Crassus sheweth in Cicero that as cumlynesse is the chiefe poynt, & most to be sought for in all thynges, so cumlynesse onelye, can neuer be taught by any Arte or craft. But may be perceyued well when it is done, not described wel how it should be done.

Yet neuerthesse to comme to it there be manye waye whych wayes men haue assayde in other matters, as yf a man would folowe in learnyng to shoote faire, the noble paynter Zeuxes in payntyng Helena, whyche to make his Image bewtiful dyd chose out v of the fayrest maydes in al the countrie aboute, and in beholdyng them conceyued & drewe out suche an Image that it far exceded al other, bycause the comelynesse of them al was broughte in to one moost perfyte comelynesse. So lykewyse in shotyng yf a man, woulde set before hys eyes v or vi of the fayrest Archers that euer he saw shoote, and of one learne to stande, of a nother to drawe, of an other to lowse, and so take of euery man, what euery man coule do best, I dare saye he shoulde come to suche a comlynesse as neuer man came to yet. As for an example, if the moost comely poynte in shootyng that Hewe Prophete the Kynges seruante hath and as my frendes Thomas and Raufe Cantrell doth vse w<sup>t</sup> the moost semelye facyons that iii or iiii excellent Archers haue beside, were al ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at y<sup>e</sup> excellencie of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoote fayre. **PHI** This is very wel truly, but I praye you teache me somewhat of shootyng fayre your selfe. **TOX** I can teache you to shoote fayre, euen as

Socrates taught a man ones to knowe God, for when he axed hym what was God naye sayeth he I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not yll, God is vnspeakeable, vnsearcheable and so forth Euen lykewyse can I saye of fayre shootyng, it hath not this discommodite with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so shifte all the discommodities from shootyng that there shall be left no thyng behynde but fayre shootyng And to do this the better you must remember howe that I toulde you when I describred generally the hole nature of shootyng that fayre shotyng came of these thynges, of standyng, nockyng, drawyng, howldyng and lowsyng, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can, describyng the discommodities that men comonlye vse in all partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulte in any such maye knowe it & so go about to amend it Faultes in Archers do excede the number of Archers, whyche come wyth vse of shootyng wythoute teachyng Vse and custome separated from knowlege and learnyng, doth not onely hurt shootyng, but the moost weyghtye thynges in the worlde beside And therfore I maruayle moche at those people whyche be the mayneteners of vses w<sup>o</sup>ute knowledge hauyng no other worde in theyr mouthe but thys vse, vse, custome, custome Suche men more wylful than wyse, beside other discommo[dities, take all place and occasion from al amendmet And thys I speake generally of vse and custome

Whych thyng yf a learned man had it in hande y<sup>t</sup> woulde applye it to any one matter, he myght handle it wonderfullye But as for shootyng, vse is the onely cause of all fautes in it and therfore chylderne more easly and soner maye be taught to shote excellentlye then men, bycause chylderne may be taught to shoote well at the fyrste, men haue more payne to vnlearne theyr yll vses, than they haue laboure afterwarde to come to good shootyng

All the discommodities whiche ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quycllye poullled out, nor yet sone reckened of me, they be so manye

Some shooteth, his head forward as though he woulde byte the marke an other stareth wyth hys eyes, as though they shulde flye out An other winketh with one eye, and loketh with the other Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe

and countenaunce so, as though they were doying you wotte what An other blereth out his tonge An other byteth his lyppes An other holdeth his necke a wrye In drawyng some fet suche a compasse, as thoughe they woulde tourne about, and blysse all the feelde Other heaue theyr hand nowe vp nowe downe, that a man can not decerne wherat they wolde shote, an other waggeth the vpper ende of his bow one way, the neyther ende an other waye An other wil stand poyntinge his shafte at the marke a good whyle and by and by he wyll gyue hym a whip, and awaye or a man wite An other maketh suche a wrestling with his gere, as thoughe he were able to shoote no more as longe as he lyued An other draweth softly to y<sup>e</sup> middes, and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe

An other draweth his shafte lowe at the breaste, as thoughe he woulde shoote at a rouynge marke, and by and by he lifeth his arme vp pricke heyghte An other maketh a wrynching with hys backe, as though a manne pynched hym behynde

An other coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as though he shoulde shoote at crows

An other setteth forwarde hys lefte legge, and draweth backe wyth head and showlders, as thoughe he pouled at a rope, or els were afrayed of y<sup>e</sup> marke An other draweth his shafte well, vntyll wythin ii fyngers of the head, and than he stayeth a lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the head, and lowseth which waye although sūme excellent shooters do vse, yet surely it is a faulte, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed

Summe men drawe to farre, summe to shorte, sūme to slowlye, summe to quickly, summe holde ouer longe, summe lette go ouer sone

Summe sette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him vpwarde An other poynteth vp towarde the skye, and so bryngeth hym downewardes

Ones I sawe a manne whyche used a brasar on his cheke, or elles he had scratched all the skynne of the one syde, of his face, with his drawynge hand

An other I sawe, whiche at euerye shoote, after the loose, lyfted vp his ryght legge so far, that he was euer in icoperdye of faulyng

Summe stampe forward, and summe leape backward. All these faultes be eyther in the drawynge, or at the loose: w<sup>th</sup> many other mo whiche you may easely perceyue, and so go about to auoyde them.

Nowe afterwarde whan the shafte is gone, men haue manye faultes, whyche euell Custome hath broughte them to, and specially in cryinge after the shafte, & speakynge woordes scarce honest for suche an honest pastyme.

Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and manifeste signes of a man that is subiecte to inmesurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhor them, and an honest man therfore wyl auoyde them. And besydes those whiche muste nedes haue theyr tongue thus walkynge, other men vse other fautes as some will take theyr bowe and writhe & wrinche it, to poule in his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyl gyue two or .iii. strydes forward, daunsing and hoppyng after his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a mad man. Some which feare to be to farre gone, runne backward as it were to poule his shafte backe. Another runneth forward, whan he feareth to be short, heauynge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other wrinthes or runneth a syde, to poule in his shafte strayght. One listeth vp his heele, and so holdeth his foote still, as longe as his shafte flyeth. An other casteth his arme backward after the lowse. And an other swynges hys bowe aboute hym, as it were a man with a staffe to make rounne in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, whiche nowe come not to my remembraunce. Thus as you haue hearde, many archers wyth marrynge theyr face and countenaunce, wyth other partes, of theyr bodye, as it were menne that shoulde daunce antiques, be farre from the comelye porte in shootynge, whiche he that woulde be excellent muste looke for.

Of these faultes I haue verie many my selfe, but I talke not of my shootynge, but of the generall nature of shootynge. Nowe ymagin an Archer that is cleane wythout al these faultes & I am sure euerye man would be delityed to se hym shoote.

And althoughe suche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be expressed wyth any precepte of teachynge, as Cicero and other learned menne do saye, yet I wyll speake (accordyng to my

lytle knowlege) that thing in it, whych yf you folowe, althoughe you shall not be wythout fault, yet your fault shal neyther quickly be perceued, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stande by. Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowsying, done as they shoulde be done, make fayre shootyng.

The fyrste poynte is when a man shoulde shote, to take  
*Standyng.* suche footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and profytable to hys vse, setting hys countenaunce and al the other partes of hys bodye after suche a behauiour and porte, that bothe al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne moost awaūtage, and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to hastely to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet make to much to do about it, for y<sup>t</sup> is curiositie, y<sup>e</sup> one fote must not stande to far from the other, leste he stoupe to muche whyche is vnsemelye, nor yet to nere together, leste he stande to streyght vp, for so a man shall neyther vse hys strengthe well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.

The meane betwyxt bothe must be kept, a thing more pleasaunte to behoulde when it is done, than easie to be taught howe it shoulde be done.

To nocke well is the easiest poynte of all, and there in is  
*Nockyng* no cunnynge, but onelye dylygente hede gyyng, to set hys shaft neyther to hie nor to lowe, but euen streyght ouertwharte hys bowe. Vnconstante nockyng maketh a man leese hys lengthe.

And besydes that, yf the shafte hande be hie and the bowe hande lowe, or contrarie, bothe the bowe is in iopardye of brekyng, and the shafte, yf it be lytle, wyll start: yf it be great it wyll hobble. Nocke the cocke fether vpward alwayes as I toulde you whē I described the fether. And be sure alwayes y<sup>t</sup> your strynge slip not out of the nocke, for than al is in iopardye of breakyng.

Drawyng well is the best parte of shootyng. Men in  
*Drawyng* ould tyme vsed other maner of drawyng than we do. They vsed to drawe low at the brest, to the ryght pap and no farther, and this to be trew is playne  
*liad 4.* in Homer, where he describeth Pandarus shootyng.

*I'p is the pap his strynge dyd he pul, his shafte to the lard keel.*

The noble women of Scythia used the same fashyon of shootyng low at the brest, and bicause their leste pap hindred theyr shootyng at the lowse they cut it of when they were yonge, and therefore be they called in lackyng theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a dayes contrarie wyse we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to the pap. Whether the olde waye in drawyng low to the pap, or the new way to draw a lost to the eare be better, an excellent wryter in Greke called Procopius doth saye hys mynde, *Procopius*  
*Ilust Pers*  
 shewyng y<sup>t</sup> the oulde fashyon in drawing to y<sup>e</sup> pap was nought, of no pithe, and therefore saith Procopius is Artyllarye d spraysed in Homer which calleth it οὐρίδαυον I Weake and able to do no good. Drawyng to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men shoote both stronger and longer drawyng therfore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breste. And one thyng commeth into my remembraunce nowe Philologe when I speake of drawyng, that I neuer red of other kynde of shootyng, than drawing wyth a mā's hand ether to the breste or eare. This thyng haue I sought for in Homer Herodotus and Plutarch, and therefore I meruayle how cros bowes came fyrst vp, of the which I am sure a  
*Crosbowes*  
 man shall finde lytle mention made on in any good Authour. Leo the Emperoure woulde haue hys souldyers drawe quyklye in warre, for that maketh a shaft flye a pace. In shootyng at the pryckes, hasty and quicke drawing is neyther sure nor yet cumlye. Therefore to drawe easely and vniformely, that is for to saye not waggyng your hand, now upwarde, now downwarde, but alwayes after one fashyon vntil you come to the rig or shouldring of y<sup>e</sup> head, is best both for profit & semelnesse. Holdyng must not be longe,  
*Holding*  
 for it bothe putteth a bowe in iopardy, & also marreth a mans shoote, it must be so lytle y<sup>t</sup> it mape be perceyued better in a mans mynde when it is done, than scene wt a mans eyes when it is in doying.

Lowsyng muste be muche lyke. So quicke and hard y<sup>t</sup> it be wyth oute all girdes, so softe and gentle that the shafte flye not as it were sente out of a bow  
*Lowsyng*  
 case. The meane betwixt bothe, whyche is perfyte lowsyng is not so hard to be folowed in shootyng as it is to be descrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowsyng you must take

than Gallies be, in a softe and a caulme sea, so no man shooteth cumlier or nerer hys marke, than some weake archers doo, in a fayre and cleare daye

Thus euery archer must knowe, not onelye what bowe and shafte is fittest for him to shoote withall, but also what tyme & season is best for hym to shote in And surely, in al other matters to, amonge al degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thing eyther more discretely for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his aduauntage, than he which wyll knowe perfittly for what matter and for what tyme he is moost apte and fit Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they should do and be fit for, & not suche thynges whyche wyfullye they desyre & yet be unfit for, verely greater matters in the comon welthe than shootyng shoulde be in better case than they be This ignorauncie in men whyche know not for what tyme, and to what thyng they be fit, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whome it were better a greate deale to be poore other to be medlynge in euery mans matter, for whome it were more honestie to be quete and styll Some to desire to be in the Courte, whiche be borne and be fitter rather for the carte Somme to be maysters and rule other, whiche neuer yet began to rule them selfe some alwayes to iangle and taulke, whych rather shoulde heare and kepe silece Some to teache, which rather should learne Some to be prestes, whiche were fyttter to be clerkes. And thys peruerse iudgement of ye worlde, when men mesure them selfe a misse, bringeth muche mysorder and greate vnsemelynesse to the hole body of the common wealth, as yf a manne should were his hoose vpon his head, or a woman go wyth a sworde and a buckeler euery man would take it as a greate vncumlynesse although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other

Thys peruerse iudgement of men hindreth no thyng so much as learnyng, bycause commonlye those whych be vnfittest for learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnyng

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two sonnes, the one impotent, weke, sickly, lispynge, stuttyng, and stamerynge, or hauynge any misshape in hys bodye what doth the father of suche one commonlye say? This boye is fit for nothyng els, but to set to lernyng and make a prest of, as who would say, ye outcastes of the worlde, haueng neyther countenaunce tounge



winde twelue score marke for the space of iii weekes, was xiii score, and an halfe, and into the wynde, beyng not very great, a great deale aboue xiiii score

The winde is sumtyme playne vp and downe, whiche is commonly moste certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherein a meane shoter with meane geare, if he can shoote home, maye make best shifte. A syde wynde tryeth an archer and good gere verye muche. Sumtyme it bloweth a losfe, sumtyme hard by the grounde. Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes, & sumtyme it continueth al in one. Sumtyme ful side wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym and more, and lykewyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp lyght grasse, or els if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by experience. To se the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossible, the nature of it is so fyne, and subtile, yet this experience of the wynde had I ones my selfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell iiiii yeares agoo. I rode in the hie waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng somewhat trodden afore, by waye fayrynge men. The felde on bothe sides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, the nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so y<sup>t</sup> the snowe was hard and crusted aboue. That morning the sun shone bright and clere, the winde was whisteling a losfe, and sharpe accordynge to the tyme of the yeare. The snowe in the hie waye laye lowse and troden wyth horse feete so as the wynde blew, it toke the lowse snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the felde whyche was harde and crusted by reason of the frost ouer nyght, that therby I myght se verye wel, the hole nature of the wynde as it blew y<sup>t</sup> daye. And I had a great delyte & pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometime the wynd would be not past ii yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I could se. An other tyme the snowe woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometime the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull fast. And thys I perceyued also that y<sup>e</sup> wind goeth by streames & not hole together. For I should se one streame wyth in a Score on me, thā the space of ii score no snow would stirre, but after so muche quātūte of grounde, an other streame of snow at the same very tyme should be caryed lykewyse, but not equally. For the one

would stande styll when the other flew a pace, and so contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime slowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I coulde se. Nor it flew not streight, but somtyme it crooked thys waye somtyme that waye, and somtyme it ran round aboute in a compase. And somtyme the snowe wold be lyft clene from the ground vp in to the ayre, and by & by it would be al clapt to the grounde as though there had bene no winde at all, streightway it woulde rise and flye agayne.

And that whych was the moost meruayle of al, at one tyme it driftes of snowe flew, the one out of the West into y<sup>e</sup> East, the other out of the North in to y<sup>e</sup> East. And I saw ii windes by reaso of y<sup>e</sup> snow the one crosse ouer the other, as it had bene two hye wayes. And agayne I shoulde here the wynd blow in the ayre, when nothing was stirred at the ground. And when all was still where I rode, not verye far fro me the snow should be lifted wonderfully. This experiece made me more meruaile at y<sup>e</sup> nature of the wynde, than it made me conning in y<sup>e</sup> knowlege of y<sup>e</sup> wynd. but yet therby I learned perfytly that it is no meruayle at al though men in a wynde lease theyr length in shooting, seying so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowynge.

But seynge that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnyng, by the vncertayntye of the wynde, leeseth many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vnsensyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoote and game.

The more vncertaine and disceyuable the wynd is, the more hede must a wyse Archer gyue to know the gyles of it.

He y<sup>t</sup> doth mistrust is seldome begiled. For although therby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shall at leaste auoide y<sup>t</sup> whyche is worst. Besyde al these kundes of windes you must take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by lytle and litle agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine be lyke to come vpon you. for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when after y<sup>e</sup> showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, & the marke for the most parte new to begyn agayne. You must take hede also yf euer you shote where one

of the markes or both stondes a lytle short of a hye wall, for there you may be easlye begyled Yf you take grasse and caste it vp to se howe the wynde standes, manye tymes you shal suppose to shoote downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynste the wynde And a good reasō why For the wynd whych commeth in dede against you, redoundeth bake agayne at the wal, and whyrleth backe to the prycke and a lytle farther and than turneth agayne, euen as a vehement water doeth agaynste a rocke or an hye braye, whyche example of water as it is more sensible to a mā's eyes, so it is neuer a whyt the trewer than this of the wynde So that the grasse caste vp shal flee that waye whyche in dede is the longer marke and disceyue quyklye a shooter that is not ware of it

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytych in the chapel felde wythin the waulles And thys waye I used in shootynge at those markes

When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes whyche was an open place, there I toke a fether or a lytle lyght grasse and so as well as I coulde, learned how the wynd stooode, that done I wente to the prycke as faste as I coulde, and according as I had fōude y<sup>e</sup> wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shoote that I coulde Euen suche an other experiēce had I in a maner at Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixte the castell and Ouse side And although you smile Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne fondenes yet seing you wil nedes haue me teach you somewhat in shotyng, I must nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience, & the better I may do so, bycause Hippocrates in

tetchynge physike, vseth verye muche the same waye Take heede also when you shoote nere the sea cost, although you be ii or iii miles from

the sea, for there diligent markinge shall espie in the moste clere daye wonderfull chaunginge The same is to be cosidered lykewyse by a riuer side speciallie if it ebbe & flowe, where he y<sup>t</sup> taketh diligent hede of y<sup>e</sup> tide & wether, shal lightly take away al y<sup>t</sup> he shooteth for And thus of y<sup>e</sup> nature of windes & wether according to my marking you haue hearde Philologe & hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selfe, if you take hede And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre stāding, y<sup>t</sup> therby you may win as much

*Hippocr De  
morb vulg*

as you shal loose by the wether. PIII I se well it is no  
maruell though a man misse many tymes in shootyng, &eing ye  
wether is so vnconstant in blowing, but yet there is one thing  
whiche many archers vse, y<sup>t</sup> shall cause a man haue lesse nede  
to marke the wether, & that is Ame gyung. **TOX** Of  
gyung Ame, I can not tel wel, what I shuld say. For in  
a straunge place it taketh away al occasion of foule game, which  
is ye only prayse of it, yet by my iudgemēt, it hidreth ye  
knowledge of shotyng, & maketh men more negligente ye which  
is a dispryse. I though Ame be giuē, yet take hede, for at an  
other mā's shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne  
neither, by cause the wether wil alter, euen in a minute, & at  
the one marke & not at the other, & trouble your shafte in the  
yer, when you shal perceyue no wynde at the ground, as I my  
selfe haue sent shafte's tumble & losse, in a very fayer daye.  
There may be a fault also, in drawing or lowsynge, and many  
thynges mo, whiche all togyther, are required to kepe a iust  
length. But to go forward the nexte poynte after the markyng  
of your wether, is the takyng of your strydyng. And in a side  
winde you must stand sumwhat crosse in to the wynde, for so  
shall you shoote the surer. When you haue taken good footing,  
than must you looke at your shafte, y<sup>t</sup> no earthe, nor weete be  
leste vpon it, for so should it leese the lengthe. You must loke  
at the heid also, lest it haue had any strype, at the last shoote.  
A stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the heid,  
croke the shafte, and hurte the fether, wherof the lest of them  
all, wyl cause a man lease his lengthe. For suche thynges  
which chaunce euery shoote, many archers vse to haue sūme  
place made in theyr cote, fitte for a lytle fyle, & stone, & Hun  
fyskskin, and a cloth to dresse the shaft fit agayne at all nedes.  
Thys must a man looke to euer when he taketh vp his shaft.  
And the heade maye be made to smothe, which wil cause it flye  
to far. when youre shafte is fit, than must you take your bow  
euen in the middes or elles you shall both lease your lengthe,  
and put youre bowe in iopardye of breakyng. Nockyng  
iuste is next, which is muche of the same nature. Than drawe  
equallye, lowse equallye, wyth louldyng your hande euer of  
one heghte to kepe trew compasse. To looke at your shafte  
hede at the lowse, is the greatest helpe to kepe a lengthe that  
can be, whych thyng yet hidreth excellent shotyng, bicause

a man can not shote streight perfitlye excepte he looke at his marke yf I should shoote at a line and not at the marke, I woulde alwayes loke at my shaft ende, but of thys thyng some what afterwarde Nowe if you marke the wether diligently, kepe your standynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and lowse equallye, and kepe youre compyce certaynelye, you shall neuer misse of your lengthe PHI Then there is nothyng behinde to make me hit y<sup>e</sup> marke but onely shooting streight TOX No trewlye And fyrste I wyll tel you what shyftes Archers haue founde to shoote streight, thā what is the best wyse to shoote streight As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a lengthe (yet a side winde belongeth also to shote streight) euen so the nature of the pricke is to shote streight. The lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is alwayes vnder the rule of the wether, yet sumwhat there is in y<sup>e</sup> marke, worthy to be marked of an Archer Yf the prickes stand of a streight playne ground they be y<sup>e</sup> best to shote at Yf y<sup>e</sup> marke stid on a hyl syde or y<sup>e</sup> ground be vnequall w<sup>th</sup> ptes & turninge wayes betwyxte the markes, a mans eye shall thynke that to be streight whyche is croked The experience of this thyng is sene in payntyng, the cause of it is knowne by learnynge

And it is ynoughe for an archer to marke it and take hede of it The cheife cause why men can not shoote streight, is because they loke at theyr shaft and this fault commeth bycause a mā is not taught to shote when he is yong Yf he learne to shoote by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shafte throughe the bowe, and therfore looketh alwayes at hys shafte yll vse confirmeth thys faulte as it doth many mo

And men continewe the longer in thys faulte by cause it is so good to kepe a lengthe wyth al, and yet to shote streight, they haue inueted some waies, to espie a tree or a hill beyonde the marke, or elles to haue sume notable thing betwixt y<sup>e</sup> markes & ones I sawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, & layd his quiuer w<sup>th</sup> it, euen in the midway betwixt y<sup>e</sup> prickes Some thought he dyd so, for sauegarde of his gere I suppose he did it, to shoote streight w<sup>th</sup> all Other men vse to espie sume marke almoost a bow wide of y<sup>e</sup> pricke, and than go about to kepe him selfe on y<sup>e</sup> hande that the prycke is on, which thing howe muche good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it Other & those very good archers in drawyng,

loke at the marke vntill they come almost to y<sup>e</sup> head, than they looke at theyr shafte, but at y<sup>e</sup> very lowse, w<sup>t</sup> a seconde sight they fynde theyr marke agayne. This way & al other afore of me rehersed are but shiftes & not to be folowed in shotyng streight. For hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shote streght, yea & I suppose so redye & easy a way yf it be learned in y<sup>o</sup>uth & confirmed w<sup>t</sup> vse, y<sup>t</sup> a man shall neuer misse therin. Men doubt yet I lokig at y<sup>e</sup> mark what way is best whether betwixt the bowe & the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, & many wyces moo. yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned w<sup>t</sup> comly shotynge. The diuersite of mens standyng and drawing causeth diuerse me loke at theyr marke diuerse wayes. yet they al lede a mas hand to shoote streight yf nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the only iudge of best lokyng at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at y<sup>e</sup> marke, the hande should go streight. Surely yf he considered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not wonder at it. For this I am certayne of, that no seruaunt to hys mayster, no chylde to hys father is so obedient, as euerye ioynste and pece of the body is to do what soeuer the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler & the succourer of al the other partes. The hāde, the foote & other members dare do nothyng w<sup>o</sup>ut the eye, as doth appere on the night and darke corners. The eye is the very tonge wherw<sup>t</sup> wyt & reaso doth speke to euery parte of the body, & the wyt doth not so sone signifye a thyng by the eye, as euery part is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thynges, but most euident in fence and feyghtyng, as I haue heird men saye. There euery part standyng in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyldre do to y<sup>e</sup> mother the foote, the hand, & al wytteth vpo the eye. Yf the eye byd y<sup>e</sup> had either beare of, or smite, or the foote ether go forward, or backward, it doth so. And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one man lookyng stedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand, wyl, cue as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to smyte nexte, for the eye is nothyng els but a certayne wyndowe for wit to shote oute hir hede at.

This wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasaunte thyng to remember and

loke vpon therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnyng to looke at hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shoote streyghte The thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shote streyght, be these A syde wynde, a bowe either to stronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, whan a fether runneth on the bowe to much, a byg brested shafte, for hym that shoteth vnder hande, bycause it wyll hobble a little brested shafte for hym y<sup>t</sup> shoteth aboue y<sup>e</sup> hande, bicause it wyl starte a payre of windyng pricks, and many other thynges mo, which you shal marke your selfe, & as ye knowe the, so learne to amend them If a man woulde leaue to looke at his shafte, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye vse this waye, whiche a good shooter tolde me ones that he did Let him take his bowe on the nyght, and shoote at ii lightes, and there he shall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, & neuer at his shafte This thing ones or twyse used wyl cause hym forsake lokyng at hys shafte Yet let hym take hede of settinge his shaft in the bowe

Thus Philologe to shoote streyght is the leaste maystene of all, yf a manne order hym selfe thereafter, in hys youthe And as for keypyng a lengthe, I am sure the rules whiche I giue you, wil neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothyng, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verze nere shotyng, excepte the faulte be onely in youre owne selfe, whiche maye come ii wayes, eyther in hauing a faynt harte or courage, or elles in sufferyng your selfe ouer muche to be led with affection yf a mans mynde fayle hym, the bodye whiche is ruled by the mynde, can neuer doe his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leapyng and vaultyng

All affections and specially anger, hurteth bothe mynde and bodye The mynde is blynde therby and yf the mynde be blynde, it can not rule the bodye aright The body both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his ryght course by anger Wherby a man lacketh his right strengthe, and therfore can not shoote wel Yf these thynges be auoyded (wherof I wyll speake no more, both bycause they belong not properly to shoting, & also you can teache me better, in them, than I you) & al the preceptes which I haue giuen you, diligently marked, no doubt ye shal shoote as well as euer man dyd yet, by the

grace of God This communication handled of me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfytl, yet as I suppose truelye you must take in good worthe, wherein if diuers thinges do not all togyther please you, thanke youre selfe, wh che woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thyng in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any honeste shamefastnes withsay your request & minde, which I knowe well I haue not satisfied But yet I wyl thinke this labour of mine the better bestowed, if to morow or some other dnye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with me here in this same place, in entreatinge the question *De origine animę*, and the ioynnyng of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, & the Stoncians haue waded in it

PHI How you haue handeled this matter Toxoph I may not well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentlenesse and good wyll towarde learnyng & shotyng, I wyll be content to shewe you any pleasure whensoever you wyll and nowe the sunne is doune therfore if it plesse you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre, and there I wyll tell you playnelye what I thinke of this communication and also, what daye we will appoynt at your request for the other matter, to mete here agayne

Deo gratias

✠ LONDINI. ✠

*In ædibus Edouardi VVhytchurch*

Cum priuilegio ad impri-  
mendum solum



# ⁂ A REPORT

and Discourse written by  
Roger Ascham, of the affaires  
and state of Germany and the  
Emperour Charles his court,  
duryng certaine yeares  
while the sayd Roger  
was there.

AT LONDON

¶ Printed by Iohn Daye,  
dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

¶ *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ  
Maestatis, per Decennium*

know your wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all such  
great affaires And you know lykewise how desirous I am alwayes  
to read any thing that you write Write therfore I pray you,  
that we your frendes beyng at home may en-  
ioye by your letters a pleasant memory of  
you in this tyme whylest you be absent a-  
broad Farewell in Christ from Hat-  
field xix Octobris 1552

20 R. Ascham, to Iohn Asteley.

**S**alutem Plurimam in Christi Iesu. That part of your letters from *Hatfield*, decimo nono Octob. renewing a most pleasaunt memory of our freddy fellowship together, & full of your wonted good will towards me: I answered immediatly from *Spire* by *Fraunce* the post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might haue heard tell of it in M. Secretary *Cicels* chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish, to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in *Germany*. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nedde to bungle vp yours so great a request, when presently you should haue sene with much pleasure, which now peradventure you shall read with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by writyng which were so great in doying, as I am more afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, then to gather vp more then hath sprong of the trowth.

Your request containeth few wordes but cōprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open inuasion by the *Turke* of the secret workyng for such soddeyne brechesse in *Italy*, and *Germany*: of the fine fetches in the *French* practises of the double dealyng of *Rome* with all partes the more particularly why Duke *Ottauio*, the Prince of *Salerno*, Marches *Albert*, and Duke *Maurice* brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure him of them. *Ottauio* being his sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches *Albert* hys kynsman, and Duke *Maurice* so inhaunsed with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is stuffe plenty to furnish well vp a trimme history if a workeman had it in handlyng. When you and I read *Liue* together

which two first worthy writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no mā hetherto by mine opinion hath borne him selfe so vprightly in wrytyng the histories of others. The thyrd hauyng in a maner y<sup>e</sup> like oportunitie hath not deserued lyke commendations, at least as I suppose. Englad hath matter & Englad hath me furnished with all abilitie to write who if they would might bryng both lyke prayse vnto them selues, & like profite to others, as these two noble mē haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke of leysure which is true in deede. But if we cōsider the great affaires of *Cæsar* we may iudge hee was worthy to winne all praise that was so willing & wittie to winne such time when his head & his handes night and day were euer most full, would to God that these our me as they are ready to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and so to wyne like prayse them selues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate talke from the matter it selfe, I will begyn at the spryng of the matter from whence all these mischiefes dyd flow, the which now hath so ouerflowed the most part of Christendome, as God onely from heauen must make an end of this miserable tragedie, wherein these two great Princes take such pleasure still to play. In

The cause of  
y<sup>e</sup> sturres in  
Italy &  
Germany

Religion & libertie were sayd to be of many men the very causes of all these sturres yet in myne opinion & as the matter it selfe shall well proue it, vnkyndnes was the very sede, whercof all these troubles dyd grow. A Knight of England of worthy memorie

Unkyndnes. *What* wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men and least punished is vnkyndnes the greatest mischief truly & least punished also by any ord nary law & sentence, yet as I haue sene here by experience, vnkyndnes hath so wrought with men, as the meane were not affrayd to attempt their reuige, nor the Emperour able to withstand their displease. Yea vnkyndnes was onely the hoke, which *Henry* the French kyng hath vsed these late yeaes to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hym selfe, so many Princes and great comodities as he hath with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mischief, the French kyng hath not ceased to angle at ys many harts in *Italy* and *Germany* as

he knew any matter of vnkynndnes to bee ministred vnto, by the Emperour There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our private talke I wil fully declare that some good big matter of vnkynndnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour Yea *herdinando* his brother, *Maximilian* his nephew and sonne in law, the Dukes of *Bauarie* and *Cleues* which haue married his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therwith Also ye Papisticall Byshops as *Mentz*, *Pamburg*, *Herbipolis*, *Saltzburge*, and diuers others haue felt their part herein Few Princes or states, Protestantes or Papistes, but haue bene troubled therwith But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng disease in the body vnkowne what it wil turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth to certaine dayes & houres euen so these grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy vnkynndnes did so swell in mens stomaches that at length in *Insburgh* it brast out into a shrewd sicknes, whereof the first fit was felt to be so daſgerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed and sure I am we were wel affrayd then, the sickenes would haue proued also to vs that were present with hym very contagious Well this grief growyng this to certaine fittes, and I my selfe beyng not greatly greued at y<sup>e</sup> hart with it but had leysure enough with small uoperdy (I thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were sicke, because I would not be idle amongst them I began dayly to note the workyng of this sickenes, and namely from the xix of May 1552 when we ranne from *Insburgh* till the first of next January whē the siege of *Metz* was abādoned Neuertheles before I come to these ordinary dayes I will shortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the world 1550 when we came to his Court, had soone after so many enemyes as hee knew not which way to turne hym

¶ *The Turke*

THE date of peace betwixt the Emperour and the *Turke* had to expire an 1551 The Emperour hearyng what preparation the *Turke* had made the yeare before for warre and specially by Sea, which must needs

The brech  
with the  
*Turke*

messenger that all the gold in *Turky* should not save the  
 And because ye *Turkes* will eate no swines flesh, you shall see  
 if swine will eate any *Turkish* fleshe And so I knewe great  
 bores were kept hungry, & in sight of the messenger the three  
*Turkes* were cut in collers and throwne amongst them

For these soule deedes I am not so angry with the *Turkes*  
 that began them as I am sorry for the Christen men that follow  
 them I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his  
 great experience and excellent learning *Marc Anth<sup>n</sup> d'Aula*

The great  
*Turke*

Ambassadour of *Venice* with the Emperour who  
 told me that the great *Turke* him selfe (Religion  
 excepted) is a good and mercysull, iust and liberrall

Prince, wise in making and true in performing any couenant,  
 and as sore a reuenger of troth not kept He prayed God to

Mustapha  
 the *Turkes*  
 eldest sonne

kepe him long aliuie for his eldest sonne *Mustapha*  
 is cleane contrary, geue to all mischief cruell,  
 false, gettingyng he careth not how vnjustly, and

spendingyng he careth not how vnchristely what soeuer he may  
 lay hand on, wilke in making for his purpose, & ready to  
 breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wery of quietnes and  
 peace, a seeler of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane  
 men, a sore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God,  
 and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men  
 But to go forward with my purpose The *Turke* beyng onest  
 disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men  
 bega to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke some  
 open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries *Fraunce* beyng at euery

Brech of  
*Italie*

mans elbow to harten and to helpe, whosoever  
 had cause to be aggrieved with the Emperour

And first *Octauis* Duke of *Parma*, much agreed  
 as nature well required with his fathers death & besides that  
 fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell  
 from the Emperour in the end of the yeare 1550

*Pietro Aluiss Farnesis* sonne to *Papa Pauls* the Duke of  
*Placencia* father to this Duke *Octauis* Duke

*Octauis*

of *Parma* which married the Emperours base

daughter, and to *Heratio* Duke of *Castro*, who of late hath  
 married also the *French* kynges base daughter, and the two  
 Cardinals *Alexandro* and *Ramusio Farnes*, was slaine men say  
 by the meanes of *Ferranto Gonzaga* gouernour of *Millan* by

whose death the state of *Placentia* bel'ging then to the house of *Ferrenti* came into the Emperour handes. The whole processe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of *Itali* my purpose is onely to touch it, because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole famely of *Fernesia* and *Don Ferrants Gonzaga* as hath stirred vp such a smoke in *Italy* betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce*, as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans bloud, as *Horace* noteth wittely out of *Homer*, saying

*If hat follies is euer great Princes make  
The people therefore go to wrake*

*Ottavio* beyng sorest greued with his fathers death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so feared of *Gonzaga* that he thought hym selfe neuer assured for *Pietro Luis* death as long as *Ottavio* his sonne should lyue for men neuer loue whē they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconciling whom they haue before hurt beyōd all remedy of amendes. And yet I heard a gentlemā of *Millin* say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by *Gonzaga*) that *Ottavio* is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behaiour that he supposed there was not one in *Italy* but did loue hym except it were his maister *Gonzaga*. These two Princes beyng neighbours the one at *Millan* the other at *Parma* shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But *Ottavio* was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning for the which fact certain persons in *Parma* were taken and layd fast. Neuertheles *Ottavios* nature is so farre from seeking bloud and reuenge and so giuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would haue taken both from hym.

And when *Monsieur Thermes* earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Iustice, the good should neuer lyue in suretie and quietnes his aunswere was that he so abhorred the sheddyng of bloud in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any let his enemies do to him the worst

he agaynst Christendome, thought it better for him to ende the peace w<sup>th</sup> some aduantage, th<sup>at</sup> that the *Turke* should begin the warre w<sup>th</sup> too much strength & therefore in sommer 1550 he sent *Ida de Iuga* Viceroy of *Cisle* & *Andrea Drea* into *Barbaria*, who wan the strong towne of *Affrica* from *Dragut Rais* sometyme a Pirate and now the *Turkes* chief doer in all the affaires of *Affrike* and *mare mediterrane*. This Court raised vp o<sup>th</sup>er rumors of this breach with the *Turke* how that this enterprise was made for *Scriptes* sake a hethen kyng. But the Emperours friend in *Barbaria* to whom *Dragut Rais* had done great wrong, yet men that knew the troth, and are wont also to say it, haue told me that the towne of *Affrica* stode so fit to annoy *Spayne* for the *Turke* when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in *Germany*, the *Turke* would be too nigh and to homely a guest with hym in *Spayne* whensoever the peace should be expired. The whole story of winnyng *Affrica* ye may read whe you list beyng wel written in *Latin* by a *Spaniard* that was present at it.

*Affrica* was earnestly required agayne by the *Turke*, and fayre promised agayne by the Emperour, but beyng in deede not deliuered, the *Turke* for a reuenge the next yeare, first assaulted *Malta* and after wan *Triphys* from whence the *Turke* may easely and suddenly whensoever hee list set vpon *Cicile*, *Naples*, or any coast of *Italie* or *Spayne* and most commodously, what soeuer the Emperour doth hold in *Barbary* so that the gayne of *Affrica* is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of *Triphys*.

When *Triphys* was besieged by the *Turkes*, *Messur Darasment* was sent Ambassadour to *Constantinple* from the *French* kyng and arriuing by the way at *Malta*, hee was desired by the great master of the order to go to *Triphys*, and for the frendshyp that was betwene *Fraunce* and the *Turke* to treat for the Christians there. *Darasment* did so and had leaue of the *Turkes* generall to enter the towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yelded, on this conditon to part safe with bag and baggage which was graunted by the generall. But assoone as the *Turkes* entred the towne they put old & yong, man, woman, and child to the sword sauing two



hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley slaues for euer. The generall beyng asked why he kept no promise made this aunswere If the Emperour had kept futh with my master for *Africa* I would not haue broken with them of *Tripoly*, and therfore (sayth he) with Christen men which care for no trothe promises may iustly be broken This *Turkish* crueltie was reuenged this last yeate in *Hungary*, when lyke promise of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the sword the Christians bidding the *Turkes* remember *Tripoly* To such beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come vnto betwixt the Christen men and the *Turkes* And one fact of either side is notable to bee knowen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed and it is pitie that mas nature is such, as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonly follow ill thynges in doying

The *Bassa* of *Buda*, tooke in a skirmish a gentleman of the kyng of *Romanes* for whose deliuey men for entreaty and money for hys raunsome were sent to *Buda* The *Bassa* appointed a day to geue them aunswere, and at time and place assigned, called for them and sent for the gentleman likewise And soddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes bringing with them certaine bandogges musled kept hungry without meate of purpose the *Bassa* bad them do their feate who commyng to the gentleman stripped him naked, and bound him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of his flesh by gobbets and flang it to the dogges Thus ye poore gentlema suffred grief great for ye payne, but greater for the spight nor so tormeted in feelyng his fleshe mangled with kniues, as in seyng him selfe peece meale deuoured by dogges And thus as long as hee felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges lose vpon him to eate vp the residue of him, that ye grief which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes lookyng on They were bad depart and tell what they saw, who ye may be sure were in care enough to cary home with them such a cruell message

An horrible  
fact

Not long after this, three *Turkes* of good estimation and place, were taken by the Christen men for whose raunsome great summes of gold were offred Aunswere was made to the

messenger that all the gold in *Turky* should not save the  
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 Prince, wise in making and true in performing any covenant,  
 and as sore a reuenger of troth not kept He prayed God to  
 kepe him long aliue for his eldest sonne *Mustapha*  
 the *Turke* is cleane contrary, geue to all mischief cruell,  
 eldest sonne false, getting he careth not how vniustly, and

spending he careth not how vnchristely what soeuer he may  
 lay hand on, wilye in making for his purpose, & ready to  
 breake for his profite all covenantes, he is wery of quietnes and  
 peace, a seeker of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane  
 men, a sore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God,  
 and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men  
 But to go forward with my purpose The *Turke* beyng onest  
 disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men  
 begn to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke some  
 open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries *Fraunce* beyng at euery

Beech of *Italie* mans elbow to harten and to helpe, whosoeuer  
 had cause to be aggrieved with the Emperour  
 And first *Octauius Duke of Parma*, much aggrieved  
 as nature well required with his fathers death & besides that  
 fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell  
 from the Emperour in the end of the yeare 1550

*Pietro Aloysio Farnesio* sonne to *Papa Pauls tercio* Duke of  
*Placetia* father to this Duke *Octauius* Duke  
 of *Parma* which married the Emperors base  
 daughter, and to *Heratio Duke of Castro*, who of late hath  
 married also the *French* kynges base daughter, and the two  
 Cardinals *Alexandro* and *Ramusio Farnesio*, was slaine men say  
 by the meanes of *Ferranto Gonzaga* gouernour of *Millan* by

whose death the state of *Placentia* belöging then to the house of *Fernesia* came into the Emperour handes The whole processe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of *Italie* my purpose is onely to touch it, because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole family of *Fernesia* and *Don Ferranto Gonzaga* as hath stirred vp such a smoke in *Italy* betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce*, as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans blood, as *Horace* noteth wittely out of *Homer*, saying

*What follies so euer great Princes make  
The people therfore go to wrake*

*Oclauis* beyng sorest greued with his fathers death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so feared of *Gonzaga* that he thought hym selfe neuer assured for *Petro Luis* death as long as *Oclauis* his sonne should lyue for men neuer loue who they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconciling whom they haue before hurt beyod all remedy of amendes And yet I heard a gentlem<sup>n</sup> of *Millan* say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by *Gonzaga*) that *Oclauis* is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behauiour that he supposed there was not one in *Italy* but did loue hym except it were his maister *Gonzaga* These two Princes beyng neighbours the one at *Millan* the other at *Parma* shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other But *Oclauis* was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning for the which fact certain persons in *Parma* were taken and layd fast Neuertheles *Oclauis* nature is so farre from seeking blood and reuenge and so geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would haue taken both from hym And when *Monsieur Thermes* earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Iustice, the good should neuer lyue in suretie and quietnes his aunswere was that he so abhorred the shedding of blood in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any let his enemies do to him the worst

they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vnlykest such for his gentlenes which were misliked of all me for their crueltie. wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him who no man in *Italy* for his cruelty doth loue. And this talke is so true that it was told in an other language but in the selfe same termes at an honorable table here in *Bruxels* by a gentleman of *Millan* an agent in the Court, a doer for *Gonzaga*, who the same tyme was prisoner in *Parma*.

And although *Ottauis* by good nature was harmeles in not seeking reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seeking hys remedies but made oft & great cōplantes of his grieues to the Emperour, which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard, that at lēgh *Ottauis* fndyng least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, & seying that displeasures could not be ended in *Gonzaga* nor could not be amended by the Emperour then he compelled agaynst his nature turned his hate due to *Gonzaga* to reuenge this vnderuened unkindnes in the Emperour, euen as *Paulinus* dyd with *Philipp* kyng of *Macedonie*, who conquering with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where, he thought him selfe most sure of his dearest frend, for unkindnes, because *Philipp* ought and would not reuēge *Paulinus* on him that had done him a foule displeasure

*Rome Naples* vnder his obedience, on the other side *Siena*, *Florence* and *Genoa* at his commaundement, besides *Placentia*, *Millan*, *Monteferrato*, and a great part of *Piemount*

The Emperour beyng thus strong in *Italy*, the Byshop thought his own state to be his so log as it pleased the Emperour to let him haue it & therefore if *Parma* were not left an entry for *Fraunce* to come into *Italy*, he might ouersoone be shut vp in present miserie when all outward ayde should be shut out from him

The Popes counsel was that *Octauio* should put him selfe vnder the *French* kynges protection whom hee knew would most willingly receiue him *Parma* lying so fit for the *French* kyng, when soeuer he would set vpon the enterprize of *Millan*. This practise of the Pope *Monsieur de Thermes* the *French* kynges Ambassadors dyd vtter before the consistorie of Cardinals at *Rome* prouing that the Pope, not the kyng his master was the occasion of that warre

When *Octauio* with the whole house of *Farnesia* became thus *French*, the Emperour more fearyng the state of *Millan* then lamentyng the losse of *Octauio* perswaded on his side the Byshop of *Rome* to require *Parma* as the Churches right, & to punish *Octauio* as the Churches rebell, promising that he him selfe as an obedient sonne of the Church would stretch out his arme and open his purse in that recouery of the Churches right neuertheles the Byshop must beare the name of the warre because hee might not breake peace with *Fraunce*. Thus Princes openly cōtenācing quietnes & priuily brewyng debate although they got others to broch it, yet God commōly suffreth the selues to drinke most of the misery thereof in the end. The Byshop seyng that he must either begyn the mischief or els it would not on so fast as he wished to haue it, set lustely vpon it and first cited *Octauio*, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged *Parma* ayded both with me and money by the Emperour which thyng the *French* kyng began to stomach, thinckyng that ye Breach w<sup>t</sup> *Fraunce* Emperour dyd offer him both wrong & dishonor in not suffring him beyng a kyng to helpe a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus these two Princes first helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out them selues. And that the Pope dyd set these two Princes together, a *Paisq*

made at *Rome* and sent to this Court doth well declare And saying that you so well vnderstand the *Italian* tounge and that if it were turned into English it would leese the whole grace therof, I will recite it in the tounge that it was made in

*Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano*

Pasq **H** *Anno vn bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore*  
 Rom *per terzo el Papa, e giocano a Primera*  
 Rom *che v' e d' invito?* Pasq *Italia tutta intera*  
 Rom *Chi vi l' ha messa?* Pasq *il coglion del pastore*  
 Rom *Che tien in mano il Re?* Pasq *Ponto maggiore*  
 Rom *e'l Papa ha cinquant' vno, e se despera*  
 Rom *Cæsar che Ponto s'a?* Pasq *lui sta a Primera*  
 Rom *che gli manca?* Pasq *danari a far fauore*  
 Rom *Il Papa dice, à vol, e vuol Partito*  
 Rom *Cæsar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,*  
 Rom *teme à Scoprir di [non] trouar moneta*  
 Rom *Il Re dice, no, no, Scoprite Presto,*  
 Rom *che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' invito*  
 Rom *I' ho li danari, et Cæsar se gli aspetta*

¶ *Tutti stanno a vedetta*

*Chi di lor due guadagni* Rom *il Papa?* Pas *è fuori,*  
*vinca chi vuol, lui Perde, in sua mal' hora*

¶ *L' Imperatore anchora*

*Teme, e tien stretto, e Scopre Pian le carte,*  
*e quì la sorte gioca, piu che l' Arte*

¶ *Metta questi in disparte*

*Stabilito è nel Ciel quello, che esser dè,*  
*ne gioua 'l nostro dir, questo Sara questo è*

The *French* king in the sommer 1551 proclaimed warre against *Charles* kyng of *Spayne*, abusing that name for a sottlety to separate y<sup>e</sup> whole quarell from the Empire when the Emperour would not be perswaded at *Augusta* that either the *Turke* would, or the *French* kyng durst make him open warre, or that any Prince in *Italy* or *Germany* could be entised to reake out with him

*Monsieur Marillac* the French Ambassadour at *Augusta* euer bare the Emperour in hand that such rumors of war were rayssed of displeasure & that his master intended nothyng so much as the continuance of amitie, yet this he durst do, when many in y<sup>e</sup> Emperours court knew that the war was already proclaimed in *Fraunce*

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wisdom, liking onely what him selfe listed, and contemnyng easely all aduise of others (which selfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme suffer him selfe thus to be abused but also afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuance of warre at *Parma*, & more boldly by Duke *Maurice* for his repayre to *Insprike*, and not the least of all, now lately at *Metz* by some of his owne counsellours for the recovery of that towne

But Princes and great personages whiche will heare but what and whom they list, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not. But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduise of others so God doth prouide by right iudgement that they haue leaue in the ende to beare both the losse and shame therof them selues

Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lyues and specially of two noble gentlemen, the Prince of *Macedonia* and *Il Seign Giovan Baptista di Monte* his owne nephew but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therefore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hasard *Parma* on the meyne chaunce but to make the two Princes better sporte & fresher game, set also eue then *Mirandula* on a bye chaunce that mischief enough might come together

When the Princes were well in and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leaue, and the other so chafed with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in sporte for the Pope at *Parma* and *Mirandula*, they fell

Pope  
Parma  
Mirandula

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Pope  
Parma  
Mirandula.

seruice to the Emperour that I haue heard some in this Court say, which loue the Emperour well and serue him in good place, that their master hath done the Prince so much wrong, as he could do no lesse then he dyd who being so vniustly hadled by his enemies, the Viceroy of Naples, and so vnkyndly dealt with all by hys master y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, was druen by necessitie to seeke an vnlawfull shift

The Viceroy *Don Pietro de Toledo* vncle to y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Alua*, & father in law to y<sup>e</sup> duke of *El rece* used him selfe with much cruelty ouer y<sup>e</sup> people of *Naples* by exactions of money without measure, by Inquisition of mens doyngs without order, & not onely of mens doyngs, but also of mes outward lookyngs, & inward thinkynges, vsing the least suspicion for a sufficiet witnes to spoyle & to kill who soeuer he lysted Me that had sutes vnto him, had as leue bene away with the losse of their right, as haue come to his presence to abyde his lokes & taunts And (as I heard a wise getlemā of *Italy* say) he gaue audiece in such tyme & place, as he may easlyer in this Court speake with *Monsieur d'Arras* then he could in *Naples* with the Viceroyes Porter And commoly he would not heare them whylest an hundred suters should come at once, and then the Porter let them in by one and by one euen as he fauoured not as the matter required, commaūdyng then to be short or els they should come short in the next tyme And so mens sutes were pulled frō comen law to priuate will, & were heard not in place open to Iustice but in priuate Parlors shut vp to all that came not in by fauour or money And therfore iudgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Viceroy listed This fault (*Cicero* sayth) vndyd *Cæsar* who drew the commo law into his own house, & so in hauing other mē's goods lost all mes hartes and not long after his owne lyfe for euen those that dyd helpe him plucke down *Pompey*, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes So we see that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great swinge but in keping of frendes & good lawes lyue most merely & raigne most surely But such as gape alwayes for o her mens goods comolv neuer enioy y<sup>e</sup> fruite of their owne for they neuer cease to win by wrog till at length they leese by right goodes lyfe & all And therefore it is notable y<sup>e</sup> *Dion* in *Plato* writeth to *Dismissus* y<sup>e</sup> tyrant, how *Euripides* in euery

tragedy bringeth for some great vice one or other great Prince  
to ruine & yet not one doth cōplaine thus

*Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of gardes*

But euery one singeth this song

*Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes*

For a Prince that will take mēs goods when he listeth  
without order shall want mens hartes whē he needeth w<sup>o</sup>ut  
pitie but in hauyng their hartes he shall neuer lacke their  
goodes, as the good kyng *Cirus* sayd to the rich kyng *Cræsus*  
And to haue the peoples hartes the next way is to be gentle to  
euery one, iust to all and liberall to many and especially to such  
as either by excellency of wit or good will in true seruice do  
well deserue it Also to set his chiefest ioy not in priuate  
pleasure like *Sardanapalus*, but in commō wealth as we haue  
example of *Titus l'espasianus* and to thinke his treasure  
greatest, not when his coffers be fullest as *Cræsus* dyd, but when  
his subiectes be richest as *Cyrus* dyd & that through hys wise-  
dome and care as all prayse worthy princes haue euer hetherto  
done And what will the people reder agayn to such a Prince?  
A small subsidy, with a great grudge? no, but their whole hartes  
to loue him their whole goodes to ayde hym their handes  
ready to defende hym, and their lyues as ready to dye for hym  
when soeuer he shall haue neede A Prince that thus doth  
lyue and thus is loued at home may be enuyed with much  
prayse, and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad

And therefore haue I heard wisemen discommend the  
gouernement in *Fraunce* in makyng their people almost slaues,  
and from thence a comon saying of some in England, that would haue the people neither witty  
nor wealthy when wit is the meare gift of GOD

Syr John  
Gates  
wish

So that to wish men lesse wit that haue it, is to count God  
scarse wise that gaue it And wealth of the people as Scripture  
sayth is the glory of a Prince, and surety of hys raigne.  
But suspition in all gouerning breedeth such sayinges, when  
wrong doth beare such swynge, as ill conscience doth alwayes  
wish that men should lacke either wit to perceauē or habilitie  
to amende what soeuer is done amisse But God send such  
*Achitophels* better ende then their counsels doth deserue which

called the Imperiall Dietes cōpellyng the *Germanes* in their owne countrey to vse straunge tounes for their priuate sutes, wherein they could say nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpose vsing *Camera Imperialis* at *Spire* for a common key to open all mens coffers when they listed and these were the chiefeſt points in *Marches* booke

The *Marches* also sore enueyed agaynst *Luice de Aulſa* for writyng, and agaynst the Emperour for ſuffring ſuch a booke as *Luice de Aulſa* wrote wherein the honor of *Germany* and the Princes therof & by name *Marches Albert*, who was in y<sup>e</sup> firſt warres on the Emperours ſide, was ſo defamed to all the world yea the *Marches* was ſo thoroughly chafed with this booke, y<sup>t</sup> when I was in the Emperours court he offered y<sup>e</sup> combat with *Luice de Aulſa*, which the Emperour for good wil and wiſe reſpectes would in no caſe admit

Not onely the *Marches* but alſo the Princes at the Diet of *Paſſan* this laſt yeare made a common complaint of this booke I knew alſo the good old Prince *Fredericke Palſgrau* of y<sup>e</sup> *Rhene* in September laſt when the Emperour lay at *Landaw* beſide *Spire*, goyng with his great army to *Metz*, complained to the Emperour hym ſelfe and to his counſell of a certaine ſpightfull place in that booke againſt him The good prince told me this tale him ſelfe at hys houſe in *Heldſbirge* where I caried vnto him kyng *Edwardes* letters, the Lord Ambaſſadour him ſelfe beyng ſicke at *Spire*

And wiſe men ſay that the Duke of *Bauere*, alſo is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynst his father when he deſerued of the Imperials, to haue bene rewarded rather with prayſe and thankes then with any vnkynde note of blame and diſhonour of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the *Landgrau* and the Duke of *Saxony* receiued ſuch kindnes, as no Prince in *Germany* for all reſpectes in y<sup>t</sup> caſe was able to affourde hym as firſt he had his whole countrey of *Bauere* for a ſure footyng place, to begyn the warre in and had alſo both men and vittale of hym what he would, and at leghth ſhould haue had that countrey his onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods ſecret will and pleaſure to haue

the matter then go as it did And for that cause men say Duke *Albert of Baviere* that now is that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more straunge this last yeare to the Emperour, when he was driuen to that extremitie to flye away on the night from *Inspurge* and was more familiar with duke *Maurice*, and more frendly to the Princes confederate then els peraduenture he would haue done

And here a writer may learne, of Princes affaires a good lesson to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or spight For although thereby a man may please his owne Prince presently yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as *Luis de Auala* dyd hurt ye Emperour his master in writyng of this booke In deede this booke was not ye chieftest cause of this sturte in *Germany* but sure I am that many Princes in *Germany* were sore agreed w<sup>th</sup> it, as the Emperour wited both theyr hartes & their handes whi he stode in most nede of frendes Iust reprehension of all vices as folie, vniust dealyng, cowardice, and vicious luyng, must be frely and franckly vsed, yet so with that moderate discession as no purposed malice or bet hatred, may seeme to be the breeder of any false reproch Which humor of writyng followeth so full, in *Paulus Iouius* bookes, and that by that iudgement of his owne frendes, as I haue heard wise and well learned men say that his whole study and purpose is spent on these pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter *Fraunce*, to spite *England*, to belye *Germany*, to prayse the *Turke*, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion, as much as lyeth in him But to my purpose agayne

The matters before of me briefly rehearsed, were at large declared in *Marches Albertes* booke yet that you may know what secret working went before this playne writyng and open doying, and because the *Marches* part hath bene so notable in all this pastime, I will by more particular circumstaunces lead you to this generall complaintes

There be at this day five Marchesses of *Bradenburge* *Isachimus* Elector, *Iohanes* his brother who for Ciuile seruice is Imperiall with might and mayne, & yet in Religion a Christian Prince with hart tounge & honesty of lyfe Doctour *Christopher Monte*, both a learned and wise man, our kynges Maiestie seruauant and his Agent in the affaires of *Germany* hath told me

diuers tymes, that this Marches *John* and the Duke of *Suaburg*, be two of the worthiest Princes in all the Emperie either in considering wisely, or executing courageously any great affaire. The thyrd is Marches *George* who dwelleth in *Franckia* not farre from *Noremberg*. The fourth Marches *Albert* the elder

Duke of  
*Prusia*.

the mighty Duke of *Prusia* habile for his power to cope with any Prince, and xv yeares together he dyd stoutly withstand in continuall warre the strength of the kyng of *Pole*. He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely established the doctrine of the Gospell in *Prusia*, as no where hetherto in *Germany* is more diligently done, he loueth learnyng and honoreth learned men, and therefore in 1544. he founded a new Vniuersitie in *Prusia* called *Mons Regius* bryngyng thether with plentyfull thynges excellent learned men in all tounge and sciences. He is vncke to this notable Marches *Albert*, and lackyng children hath made him his heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the Dukedome of *Prusia*.

The fift is Marches *Albert* of whom I purpose to write on whose father was *Cassimirus* descended from the kynges of *Pole*, and for his noblenes agaynst the *Turke* called *Achilles Germanicus* and therefore might very well engender such a boate *Pirrbus*. Marches *Albert* in hys young yeares as I haue heard wise men say, was rude in hys maners, nor did not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affaires as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of *Germany*) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, which propertie *Xenophon* wittely fayned to be in *Cyrus* at like yeares iudgyng bashfulnes in youth to be a great token of vertue in age.

*Xenoph* a  
*cyru*

Marches *Albert* is now at this day about xxxi yeares o'd of a good stature, neither very high, nor very low, thicke without grosenes rather wel boned for strength, then ouerloded with flesh. his face fayre, bewtifull, brode, sterne, and manly somewhat resembling my Lord Marches of *North* when he was of the same yeares, his eyes great and rowlyng, makyng his countenance cherefull when he talketh and yet whe he geueth care to other he kepeth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice. And this behauiour I marked well in hym when I dynd in his

company at the siege of *Metz*, in the County *Iohn* of *Nassaus* tent, his voyce is great and his wordes not many, more ready to here other then to talke him selfe And when he talketh he so frameth hys tounge to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym, and herein he may be well called the sonne of *Achilles* whom *Homer* wittely doth sayne to haue such a free open nature whose saying in *Greeke* is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong side into English, it shall lesse delight you yet thus much it signifieth

*Who either in earnest or in sport,  
doth frame hym selfe after such sort  
This thyng to thincke and that to tell,  
my hart abhorreth as gate to hell*

*Homer*, meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage should haue his hart, his looke, hys tounge, and his handes so alwayes agreeyng together in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these foure should at any tyme be at iarre with an other, which agreeyng together in their right tune, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in English (honor) and most fitly in *Greeke* *Tijm*, the price and prayse of vertue

And though the *Marches* be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposyng & close in workyng what soeuer hee goeth about Now very skillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet vnto it with his own rod for in ye former warres of *Germany* being on ye Emperours side he fell into the handes of Duke *Iohn Fridericke* of *Saxony*, which chaunce he is charged sore withall by *Luce de Aulla* and that with so spightfull and open a mouth, as moued the *Marches* to offer hym the combat as I sayd before He is now most courageous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in present scoperdy, and most paynefull in greatest labours hauyng no souldier vnder him, that can better away with heate and cold or longer suffer hunger and thirst then he him selfe His apparell is souldier like, better knownen by his scarce doyngees then by his gay goyng His souldiours feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his liberaltie which winneth to him authoritie fit for a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obediẽce due to good souldiours

This last yeare a litle before hys agreement w<sup>th</sup> the Emperour hys souldiours for lacke of money & meate fell to mutenyng and then fell the Marches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng him selfe for feare, but coming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishmet nor yet the prodest should lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse or loafe of bread in his tent And after this sort of outward behauiour and inward condition in Marches *Albert*, as I haue marked his person my selfe and as I haue learned hys doynge by such as by experience knew them well & for theyr honesty would reporte them right and now how he fell fro the Emperour I wil as briefly declare

The Marches serued the Emperour as I said before in the former warres in *Germany* agaynst the *Langraue* and the Duke of *Saxony*, where he lost some honour and spent much money The Emperour shortly after came downe hether to *Bruxels* hauyng the Marches in his company, who looking for a great recompence of hys costes, and receuyng litle, and seying his honor not onely defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writing cōfirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow abroad in the world began to take the matter so vnkindly, that he left comming to the Court, and kept his owne house rising euey day very early and writing all the forenoone very diligently yet what he did no man knew so that his absence breed a talke in the Court, and his soddein and secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of his doynge in the Emperours head for he knew the Marches to haue courage enough to attemp matters ouer great and therefore sent *Mosieur Granduill* vnto the Marches house as of hym selfe to grope out his doynge, who declared vnto the Marches y<sup>e</sup> Emperours great goodwill towards hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed to make him a great personage, & to begyn withall had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all his Mintes

The Marches answered roundly and plainly to the first, that the Emperour could not make him greater then he was, beyng Marches of *Braderburge* And as for y<sup>e</sup> office in the Minte, he said smiling, he used not oft to tell his owne money, & therefore he thought not to make the accōpt of others & so made nothing of the Emperours offer onely hee desired



*Grandeuill* that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained And at his departure y<sup>e</sup> Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000 crownes by y<sup>e</sup> yeare But y<sup>e</sup> Marches was not well foure miles out of *Bruxels*, when he sent the patent by post to y<sup>e</sup> Emperour agayne saying his Maiestie might better bestow it on some thit had more neede of it And in deede the Marches is as loth to receiue of his frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take fro hys enemies by violece which commeth somewhat of to stout a couragi

Thus the Marches came home not best contented as it may well appeare nor saw not the Emperour after till he met hym at the siege of *Metz*. *Casimir* his father and the Marches hym selfe were great spenders and deepe detters the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for his lustines in youth And therefore became quicke borrowers & slow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into such trouble as hee had with the City of *Noremberge* with his neighbours the Bishop of *Herbipolis* and with his Godfather the Byshop of *Pamberge*

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these Byshops spying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours Court, and had quite lost or much lessened his frendship there, bega to trouble him with new suites for old debtes in *Camera Imperiali*, at *Spire*, where the Marches because hee lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeares, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst, and to stuffe vp his stomach with more matter of vnkindnes against the Emperour, it is sayd that letters from the greatest in the Emperours Court were neuer lackyng at *Spire* to helpe forward processe agaynst the Marches

Shortly after this tyme begi the siege of *Madenburg* where Duke *Maurice* by the Emperour was appoynted generall The Marches either weery of leesyng at home by suites, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures made him ready to serue against *Madenburg* with 500 horse And in the begynnyng of the spryng of the yeare 1551 he set forward and in his way went to visite *Ernestus* his cosin Duke of *Saxony* brother to *Iohn Fridericke* the prisoner with the Emperour The selfe same tyme *Lazarus Swenly* was sent from the Emperour as Commissary to duke *Ernestus* with earnest commaundement that the

Duke and all his, should receiue the doctrine of the *Interim* And that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as cruelly as I can, by writyng, the very Image of such persons as haue played any notable part in these affaires and so you beyng absent shall with some more pleasure read their doynge.

*Lazarus  
Swendy*

This *Lazarus Swendy* is a tall and a comely personage, and beyng brought vp in learnyng vnder *Oecolampadius* at *Basile* makyng (as it was

told me by an honest man that was throughly acquainted with hym there) more accompt of his tall stature, the of any bewty of the mynde, began to be wery of learnyng, and became desirous to beare some bragge in the world and so made a souldiour, mard a scholer, & because he would make a lusty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Christs doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloody Papist euer at hand in any cruell execution agaynst the poore Protestantes as commonly all such do which so wittingly shake of Christ, and his Gospell such a Commissary you may be sure would cruelly enough execute his office

Duke *Ernestus* told the Commissary that he his landes and lyfe were at his Maiesties commaundement, his Maiestie knew how quietly he bare him selfe alwayes, & therefore his trust was as he willingly serued the Emperour with true obedience so he might as freely serue God with right conscience for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with his wife & children, then they would forsake the way of the Gospell which God hath commaunded them to follow

And marke how evidently God dyd declare both how much such a Comission sent out abroad in *Germany* agaynst him and hys word dyd displease him and also how much the prayers and sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuayle with hym for as a man of much honesty & great knowledge in all the matters of *Germany* did tell me, assoone as this Commissiō was once abroad, the practises in *Germany* began to styrr, yet not so openly as the Emperour might haue iust cause to withstand them, nor so couertly but he had occasion enough to mistrust them and thereby he both lacked helpe for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief

Duke *Ernestus*, Marches *Albert*, and *Lazarus Swendy* sate at

supper together & as they were talkyng of y<sup>e</sup> *Interim*, the Marches suddenly brast out into a fury saying what deuill? will y<sup>e</sup> Emperour neuer leaue striuyng with God in defacyng true Religio and tossing the world in debarryng all mē's liberties? addyng, that he was a Prince vnkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no m<sup>n</sup>, that could forget all mens merites, & would deceiue whom soeuer he promised

The Duke liked not this hoate talke in hys house and at his table, but sayd Cosin you speake but merely, and not as you thincke, adding much the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of his promise kept withall Well (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men haue deserued or would haue performed that hee promised neither should I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you haue sit here in this place to defende hym, for he promised to geue me this house with all the landes that thereto belongeth but ye be affrayd Cosin (quoth y<sup>e</sup> Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre of when in deede if the Commissarie here, be so honest a man as I take him, and so true to his master as he should be, he will not fayle to say what he hath heard, and on the same cōdition Commissary I bryng thee good lucke, and drancke of vnto hym a great glasse of wine *Lazarus Swendyes* talke then sounded gētly and quietly, for he was sore affrayed of the Marches But he was no soner at home with the Emperour, but word was sent straight to Duke *Maurice* that the Marches who was as the come to *Madenburg* if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages

Ye may be sure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes who already had lost a great sort of hys men and now must leese hys whole labour thether, and all his wages there, besides the losse of hys honour in takyng such shame of hys enemies, & receiuyng such vnkyndnes of the Emperour

The Marches was not so greeued but Duke *Maurice* was as well contented with this commaundement for euen then was Duke *Maurice* Secretary practisyng by Baron *Hadeckes* aduise with the *French* kyng for the sturre which dyd follow and therfore was glad when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easely whiche came very soone to passe so that the Marches for the same purpose in the ende of the same yeare went into *Fraunce* secretly, and was there with *Sherthly* as

a commo Launce Knight, and named hymselfe Captaine *Paul*, lest the Emperour shold get out hys doynge where by the aduise of *Sterly* hee practised with the *French* kyng for the warres which followed after This matter was told vnto me by *Iohn Mitardus* one of the chief Preachers in *Augusta*, who beyng banished the Emperie, when and how ye shall heare after was sayne to flye, and was with *Sterly* the same yeare in *Fraunce*

The Marches came out of *Fraunce* in the begynnyng of the yeare 1552 and out of hand gathered vp men, but his purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beyng at *Insburg*, sent *D<sup>r</sup> Hasius* one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre This *D<sup>r</sup> Hasius* was once an earnest protestant, and wrote a booke on that side, & was one of the *Paligraues* priuy counsell But for hope to clyme higher, he was very ready to be entised by ye Emperour to forsake first his master & then God By whome the Emperour knew much of all ye Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had used in all their Dietes and priuate practises which thing caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym that by his head he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, & with them God and hys word in all *Germany*

This man is very lyke *M<sup>r</sup> Parric* her graces cofferer in herd, face, legges and bellye What answer *Hasius* had I can not tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote his booke of complayntes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in Printe And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke *Dilling* upon *Danuby* the Cardinall of *Augustus* towne, which Cardinall with a few Priestes fled in post to the Emperour at *Inspurg*, where he found so cold cheare, and so litle comfort, that forthwith in all hast, he posted to *Rome*

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches and in the ende of March he marched forward to *Augusta*, where he, Duke *Maurice*, the young *Lansgraue*, the duke of *Meebellurg*, *George*, and *Albert*, with *William* Duke of *Brunswycke*, and other Princes confederate met together and besieged that Citie, Where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke *Maurice* and hys doinges to the same time, and to the same place

remembryng so good a Prince I haue gone so farre from my matter And yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whose worthynes is neuer to be forgotten

Duke *George* of *Saxey* a litle before he dyed hauyng no child did disinherite Duke *Henry* his brother by his last wil because he was a Protestant, and giue away his whole inheritance to *Ferdinands* kyng of *Romyne*

But Duke *Iohn Fredericke* by force of armes set and kept his Cousin Duke *Henry* in his right And he dying soone after left behynd hym two sonnes Duke *Maurice* and Duke *Augustus*, who likewise in their youth were defended in theyr right by the wisdom and force of Duke *Iohn Fredericke* Duke *Maurice* was brought vp in Duke *Iohn Frederickes* house as if hee had bene hys owne sonne and maryed the *Landgraues* daughter

After it came to passe that the Emperour attempted to establish Papistry in *Germany* with the sword, agaynst which purpose the *Landgraue* and duke *Iohn Fredericke* armed them selues not to resist the Emperour as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods Religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusing neuer, but requirying alwayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free generall Councell where truth in Religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and

\* *Ex lores*  
*sal ualores*  
 wordes al  
 wayes used  
 in *Thurs*  
*dides* in  
 deciding  
 comon con  
 trouersies

\* equall iudges and that by the touchstone of Gods Canonically Scriptures

Duke *Maurice* in the begynnyng of his warre was suspected neither of the *Landgraue* nor of Duke *Fredericke* beyng sonne in law to the one and nigher kinsman to the other and agreeyng in Religio with both Yea he was not onely not suspected, but as I heard skilful me say he was ready with his counsell & promised his ayde to helpe forward ye enterpryce, or els *Hance Fredericke* beyng a Prince of such wisdom would not haue left at home behind hym an enemy of such a force

*Francisco* Duke *Maurice* Agent with the Emperour was asked, I beyng by at *Augusta*, how he could excuse his masters unkindnes towards *Iohn Fredericke* who had bene such a father vnto him He graunted that Duke *Fredericke* had bene great frend vnto him, and might haue a greater if he had would, and the lesse strife had followed then did And troth it is (sayd he)

as Duke *Fredericke* kept my master in his right, so afterward he put him from part of his right, when in his yong yeares hee chopped and churged landes with him when he listed. which thing my master comming to mans state much misliked, and oft complaynyng could neuer obtayne remedy therein. Kyndnes should rather haue kyndly encreased, so vnkynndly haue decayed specially when the one was trusted withall, and the other of such yeares, as he had nether wit to perceiue nor power to amend if any iniurie were offred vnto hym Troth also it is that my master was brought vp in Duke *Frederickes* house but he hath more cause to cōplaine on them that brought him thether, then to thanke such as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes plentie of drinke and as much scant of good teaching to come to such vertue and learning as dyd belong to a Prince of his state

Now whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact I can not tell but sure I am *Francisco* sayd thus I haue heard wise men say that it is not lyke, that for such a priuate strife Duke *Maurice* would haue so forsaken not onely his frend and kinsman, but also his father in law or would for the losse a litle, or rather for the chaūge of a peece haue so hassarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone saue *Lysia*, and one other towne, beside the losse of loue in whole *Germany* and his good name amongst all Protestantes, in the middest of whom all hys liuinges do lye

Well surely there was some great cause that could sturre vp so great a strife, and that was as wise men and wel willyng on Duke *Maurice* side in myne opinion haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition

Why Duke  
*Maurice*  
left hys  
dearest  
frendes and  
fell in with  
the Empe  
rou  
Ambition

O Lord how many worthy men hath this one vice beareft from good common weales, which for all other respectes were most vnworthy of that end they came vnto My hart weepes for those noble men of England, whose valiantnes in warre, whose wisdom in peace this Realme shall want and wayle and wish and wish for in tyme to come, which of late by this onely vice haue bene taken from vs Examples, lesse for our grief and as fit for this purpose be plenty enough in other states

ran euery one farre away fro thence, with such speed as they neuer durst hetherto speake of meeting there agayne And

The Emperour how he delt with y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, both in forcing him to flye from *Insburge*, and compellyng him to such a peace at *Passin*, my whole *Diurnum* shall at full instruct you

And of all other he serued the *French* kyng best, who sayre pretending the deliuey of the 11 Princes captiues, and the maintenaunce of Religion & libertie in *Germany*, purposed in very deede nothyng els, but y<sup>e</sup> destruction of the Emperor, & the house of *Austria* for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none him selfe priuately in his lfe, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who could for his purpose be content at one time to embrace all & for to do hurt enough to the Emperor would become at once by solemne league, Protestant, Papish, Turkish, & deuillish But such Princes that cary nothyng els but the name of bearing vp Gods word, deserue the same prayse and the same end that that Prince dyd, who semed so ready to beare vp y<sup>e</sup> Arke of the Lord, & yet otherwise pursued Gods true Prophetes & his word

Agayne how much the *French* kyng cared for the libertie of *Germany* he well declared in stealyng away so vnhonorably from the Empire the Citie of *Metz* But he thinckying to abuse Duke *Maurice* for his ambitious purpose, in very deede & in the end Duke *Maurice* vsed him as he should for first he made him pay well for y<sup>e</sup> whole warres in *Germany* as it is sayd 200000 crownes a moneth And after when the *French* kyng fell to catching of Cities, duke *Maurice* tendryng y<sup>e</sup> state of his countrey brake of with hym, and began to parle w<sup>th</sup> the good kyng of *Romanes* at *Lutz*, which thyng whē the *French* kyng heard came within 11 miles of the *Rhene*, he straight way hied more hastly & with more disorder, for all his great hast, out of *Germany*, as they say that were there, then the Emperour being sicke without company and pressed by his enemy dyd go from *Insburge*

And see how nobly Duke *Maurice* did which for y<sup>e</sup> loue of his countrey, durst fall from the *French* kyng before he atchieued any thyng agaynst the Emperour And rather the *Germany*

should leese her Cities so by the *French* king, he had leuer hassard, both the leeing of his enterprice, & also the leauyng of hys father in law still in prison with the Emperour But as he had wit to take money plēty of the *French* kyng so had he wit also to furnish him selfe so frō home as he durst first fall out with the *French* kyng, & durst also after to set vpō the Emperour till he had brought his honest purpose to passe For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say duke *Maurice* did honestly in deliuering his father by strong hand, which before left no fayre meane vnproued to do that humbly by entreaty, which after, was cōpelled to bryng to passe stoutly by force And I pray you first marke well what he did and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do

For first he him selfe with y<sup>e</sup> Marches of *Bradenburge* most humbly by priuate sute laboured for the *Lansgrauces* deliuey offring to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused as a huge summe of money a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be defaced, some geuē to y<sup>e</sup> Emperour and also personall pledges of great houses for hys good haberaunce all the residue of his life

Duke  
*Maurice*  
offer for the  
*Lansgrauces*  
deliuey

After whē this sute was not regarded they againe procured all y<sup>e</sup> Princes & states of *Germany* beyng at y<sup>e</sup> Diet at *Augusta* an 1548 to be hūble intercessors for him, offring y<sup>e</sup> selfe same cōditions rehearsed before addyng this more to become sureties them selues in any bande to his Maestie for his due obedience for tyme to come

Thirdly by the Prince of *Spayne* Duke *Maurice* neuer left to entreat y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, yea he was so carefull of y<sup>e</sup> matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince euen to his shipping at *Genoa* who had spoke ofte presently before, & wrote earnestly fro thence to his father for y<sup>e</sup> *Lansgrauces* deliuey, & it would not be And wise me may say it was not y<sup>e</sup> wisest deede that euer y<sup>e</sup> Emperour did, to deny y<sup>e</sup> prince this sute for if y<sup>e</sup> Prince had bene made y<sup>e</sup> deliuerer of y<sup>e</sup> 11 princes out of captiuitie, he had won therby such fauor in all *Germany*, as w<sup>t</sup>out all doubt he had bene made coadiutor w<sup>t</sup> the k. of *Romaines* his vnclē, And afterward y<sup>e</sup> Emperour Which thing was lustly denyed to y<sup>e</sup> Emperour by the Electors, though he



laboured in y<sup>e</sup> matter so sore as he neuer dyd in any other before

Fourthly the last yeare a litle before the open warres duke *Maurice* procured once agayne, not onely all y<sup>e</sup> Princes and free Estates of *Germany*, but also the kyng of *Spane* *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian* his sonne kyng of *Berie*, the kyng of *Pole*, the kyng of *Denmarke* the kyng of *Sweden*, to send also the Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once xxiij Ambassadors came before the Emperour together at *Innsbruge*. To whom whē the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect concerning a double meanyng aunswere, & that was this That it did him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once And therfore so many Princes should well vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> he would make a good accompt of their sute. Neuertheles because duke *Maurice* was the chieftest partie herein he would with speede send for him, and use his head for the better endyng of this matter. But Duke *Maurice* seying that all these Ambassadors w<sup>o</sup>uld come without him, and that the matter was referred to his present talke who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wisely met with this double meaning aunswere of the Emperours with a double meanyng replica agayne for he promised the Emperour to come, and at last in deede came so hastily and so hotely as the Emperour could not abide the heat of his breath. For when duke *Maurice* saw that all humble sutes, all quiet meanes were spent in vayne, & had to beare him iust witnes therein all y<sup>e</sup> Princes of *Germany*. First with close pollicie, after open power both wittely and stoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by suite. For the Emperour was glad to cond scend (whch surely in an extreme aduersitie was done like a wise Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, w<sup>o</sup>ut receiuyng of pledges, to send the *Lansgrau* home, honorably accompanied with (at the Emperors charges) the nobilitie of *Brabant* & *Flaunders*.

This last day I dined with the Ambassadors of *Venice* in cōpany of many wise heades, where duke *Maurice* was greatly praysed of some for his wit of other for y<sup>e</sup> execution of his purposes. Well sayth a lusty *Italian* Priest, I can not much prayse his wit, which might haue had the Emperour in his handes & would not. Loe such be these *Machiavel* heades, who thincke no mā to haue so much wit as he should, except

he do more mischief then he neede. But Duke *Maurice* purposing to do no harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng y<sup>e</sup> one pursued not the other. Yea I know it to be most true whē we fled from *Insburg* so hastily, Duke *Maurice* sent a post to y<sup>e</sup> good kyng of *Romanes*, & bad him will the Emperour to make no such speede for he purposed not to hurt his person · but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at *Passo* immediatly folowed.

I cōmend rather the iudgement of *John Baptist Gascaldo*, the Emperours man and y<sup>e</sup> kyng of *Romanes* generall in *Hungary*, who is not wont to say better, or loue any m<sup>a</sup> more then he should specially *Germanes*, & namely Protestantes. And yet this last winter he wrote to the Emperour that he had marked Duke *Maurice* well in all his doynge agaynst the *Turke*, and of all men that euer he had sene, he had a head to forecast the best with pollicie and wit, and a hart to set vppon it with courage and speed, & also a discessiō to stay most wisely vpon the very pricke of aduauntage.

*Marches Marignan* told some in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke *Maurice* should become the greatest enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had which thing he iudged (I beleue) not of any troublesome nature which he saw in Duke *Maurice*, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke *Maurice*, knowyng that he had both wit to perceiue them quietly and also a courage not to beare them ouer long

Some other in this court that loued not duke *Maurice*, & hauyng no hurt to do him by power, went about to say him some for spight & therfore wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst him.

*Iugurtham Maurus prodit Mauricius ultra,  
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.*

He that gaue me this verse added thereunto this his iudgement, well (sayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke *Henry* of *Brunswicke*, his nigh kinsman Duke *Fredericke*, his father in law the *Lansgrau*, his soueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confederate the *French* kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature, law, obediēce, and othe, shall

¶ To the honorable Sir William  
Cecill Knight, principall Secretarie to  
the Quenes most excellent Maiestie

**S**ondry and reasonable be the causes why learned men haue used to offer and dedicate such workes as they put abroad, to some such personage as they thinke fittest, either in respect of abilitie of defense, or skill for iugement, or priuate regard of kindenesse and dutie. Euery one of those considerations, Syr, moue me of right to offer this my late husbands M. Aschams worke vnto you. For well remembryng how much all good learnyng oweth vnto you for defense therof, as the Vniuersitie of Cambrige, of which my said late husband was a member, haue in chosing you their worthy Chaunceller acknowledged, and how happily you haue spent your time in such studies & caried the vse therof to the right ende, to the good seruike of the Quenes Maiestie and your contrey to all our benefites, thyrdly how much my sayd husband was many wayes bound vnto you, and how gladly and comfortably he used in hys lyfe to recognise and report your goodnesse toward hym, leauyng with me then hys poore widow and a great sort of orphanes a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I haue truly found to me and myne, and therefore do duely and dayly pray for you and yours. I could not finde any man for whose name this booke was more agreable for hope [of] protection, more mete for submission to iudgement, nor more due for respect of worthynesse of your part and thankefulnesse of my husbandes and myne. Good I trust it shall do, as I am put in great hope by many very well learned that can well iudge therof. Mete therefore I compt it that such good as my husband was able to doe and leaue to the common weale, it should

☞ *A Præface to the  
Reader.*

W<sup>H</sup>en the great plague was at London, the yeare 1563 the Quenes Maiestie Queene *Elizabeth*, lay at her Castle of Windsore Where, vpon the 10 day of December, it fortun-ed, that in Sir *William Cicells* chamber, hir Highnesse Principall Secretarie, there dined together these personages, M Secretarie him selfe, Syr *William Peter*, Syr *J Mason*, D *Wotton*, Syr *Richard Sackville* Treasurer of the Exchequer, Syr *Walter Mildmaye* Chauncellor of the Exchequer, M *Haddon* Master of Requestes, M *John Astely* Master of the Jewell house, M *Bernard Hampton*, M *Nicasius*, and *J* Of which number, the most part were of hir Maiesties most honourable priue Counsell, and the reast seruing hir in verie good place I was glad than, and do reioice yet to remember, that my chance was so happie, to be there that day, in the companie of so manie wise & good men together, as hardly than could haue beene piked out againe, out of all England beside

M Secretarie hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet, at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke plesantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning wherein, he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table

Not long after our sitting doune, I haue strange newes brought me, sayth M Secretarie, this morning, that diuerse Scholers of Eaton, be runne awate from the Schole, for feare of beating Whereupon, M Secretarie tooke occasion, to wishe, that some

more discretion were in many Scholemasters, in vsing correction, than commonlie there is. Who many times, punishe rather, the weakenes of nature, than the fault of the Scholer. Whereby, many Scholers, that might else proue well, be driven to hate learning, before they knowe, what learning meaneth and so, are made willing to forsake their booke, and be glad to be put to any other kinde of liuing.

M. Peter, as one somewhat seuerer of nature, said plainlie, that the Rodde onelie, was the sworde, that must keepe, the Schole in obedience, and the Scholer in good order. M. Wotton, a man milde of nature, with soft voice, and fewe wordes, inclined to M. Secretaries iudgement, and said, in mine opinion, the Schole-house should be in deede, as it is called by name, the house of playe and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage and as I do remember, so saith Socrates in one place of Plato. And therefore, if a Rodde came the feare of a Sworde, it is no maruell, if those that be fearefull of nature, chose rather to forsake the Plaie, than to stand alwaies within the feare of a Sworde in a fonde mans handling. M. Mason, after his maner, was verie merie with both parties, pleasantlie playing, both, with the shrewde touches of many courste boyes, and with the small discretion of many leude Scholemasters. M. Hadden was fullie of M. Peters opinion, and said, that the best Scholemaster of our time, was the greatest beater, and named the Person. Though, quoth I, it was his good fortune to send from his Schole, vnto the Vniuersitie, one of the best Scholers in deede of all our time, yet wise men do thinke, that that came so to passe, rather, by the great towardnes of the Scholer, than by the great beating of the Master and whether this be true or no, you your selfe are best witnes. I said somewhat farder in the matter, how, and whie, yong children, were soner allured by loue, than driven by beating, to attayne good learning wherein I was the bold-er to say my munde, because M. Secretarie curteslie prouoked me thereunto or else, in such a companie, and namelie in his præsence, my wonte is, to be more willing, to vse mine eares, than to occupie my tonge

Syr *Walter Mildmaye*, M. *Astley*, and the rest, said verie litle onelie Syr *Rich Sackuill*, said nothing at all After dinner I went vp to read with the Queenes Maiestie We red than together in the Greke tongue, as I well remember, Demost that noble Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Æschines*, wept we for his false dealing in his Ambassage to king παρρησι *Philip* of *Macedonie* Syr *Rich Sackuile* came vp sone after and finding me in hir Maiesties priue chamber, he Syr R tooke me by the hand, & carying me to a Sackuiles windoe, said, M. *Ascham*, I would not for a good communi deale of monie, haue bene, this daie, absent from cat on with diner Where, though I said nothing, yet I gaue the Author of this as good care, and do consider as well the taulke, booke that passed, as any one did there M. Secretarie said very Syr R wisely, and most truely, that many yong wittes be driuen to Sackuiles hate learninge, before they know what learninge is I can be good witnes to this my selfe For a fond Scholemaster, before I was fullie fourtene yeare olde, draue me so, with feare of beating, from all loue of learninge, as nowe, when I know, what difference it is, to haue learninge, and to haue litle, or none at all, I feele it my greatest greife, and finde it my greatest hurte, that euer came to me, that it was my so ill chance, to light vpon so lewde a Scholemaster But seing it is but in vain, to lament thinges paste, and also wisdom to looke to thinges to cum, surely, God willinge, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap, some occasion of good hap, to litle *Robert Sackuile* my sonnes sonne For whose bringinge vp, I would gladlie, if it so please you, vse speciallie your good aduice I heare saie, you haue a sonne, moch of his age we wil deale thus together Point you out a Scholemaster, who by your order, shall teache my sonne and yours, and for all the rest, I will prouide, yet though they three do cost me a couple of hundred poundes by yeare and beside, you shall finde me as fast a Frend to you and yours, as perchance any you haue Which promise, the worthie Ientleman surelie kept with me, vntill his dyinge daye

We had than further taulke together, of bringing vp of children of the nature, of quicke, and hard wittes of the right cho ce of a good witte of Feare, and The chiefe loue in teachinge children We passed from pnotes of this booke

children and came to yonge men, namely, Ientlemen we taulked of their to moch libertie, to liue as they lust of the letting louse to sone, to ouer moch experience of ill, contrarie to the good order of many good olde common welthes of the Persians and Grekes of witte gathered, and good fortune gotten, by some, onely by experience, without learning And lastlie, he required of me verie earnestlie, to shewe, what I thought of the common goinge of Englishe men into Italie But, sayth he, bicause this place, and this tyme, will not suffer so long taulke, as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leysure, put in some order of wrting, the cheife pointes of this our taulke, concerning the right order of teachinge, and honestie of liuing, for the good bringing vp of children & yong men And surelie, beside contentunge me, you shall both please and profit verie many others I made some excuse by lacke of habilitie, and weakenes of bodie well, sayth he, I am not now to learne, what you can do Our deare frende, good M *Go dricke*, whose iudgement I could well beleue, did once for all, satisfie me full e therein Againe, I heard you say, not long agoe, that you may thanke Syr *John Cheke*, for all the learninge you haue And I know verie well my selfe, that you did teach the Quene. And therefore seing God did so blesse you, to make you the Scholer of the best Master, and also the Scholemaster of the best Scholer, that euer were in our tyme, surelie, you should please God, benefite your countrie, & honest your owne name, if you would take the paines, to impart to others, what you learned of soch a Master, and how ye taught such a scholer And, in vttering the stuffe ye receiued of the one, in declaring the order ye tooke with the other, ye shall neuer lacke, neither matter, nor maner, what to write, nor how to write in this kinde of Argument.

I beginning some farther excuse, sodainlie was called to cum to the Queene. The night following, I slept litle, my head was so full of this our former taulke, and I so mindefull, somewhat to satisfie the honest request of so deare a frend, I thought to præpare some litle treatise for a New yeares gift that Christmas But, as it chanceth to busie builders, so, in building thys my poore Scholchouse (the rather bicause the forme of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the worke

rose dulle higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginninge

And though it appeare now, and be in verie deede, but a small cotage, poore for the stuffe, and rude for the workemanship, yet in going forward, I found the site so good, as I was lothe to giue it ouer, but the making so costlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many tymes I wished, that some one of those three, my deare frendes, with full purses, Syr *Tlo Smithe*, M *Haddon*, or M *Watson*, had had the doing of it. Yet, neuerthelesse, I my selfe, spending gladlie that litle, that I gatte at home by good Syr *Iohn Cheke*, and that that I borrowed abroad of my frend *Sturmius*, beside somewhat that was left me in Reuersion by my olde Masters, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*, I haue at last patched it vp, as I could,

M { *Smith*  
*Haddon*  
*Watson*  
Syr *I*  
*Cheke*  
*Sturmius*  
*Plato*  
*Aristotle*  
*Cicero*

and as you see If the matter be meane, and meanly handled, I pray you beare, both with me, and it for neuer worke went vp in worse wether, with mo lettes and stoppes, than this poore Scholehouse of mine Westminster Hall can beare some witnesse, beside moch weakenes of bodie, but more trouble of minde, by some such sores, as greue me to toche them my selfe, and therefore I purpose not to open them to others And, in middes of outward iniuries, and inward cares, to encrease them withall, good Syr *Rich Sackville* dieth, that worthie Gentleman That earnest suorer and furtherer of Gods true Religion

Syr *R*  
*Sackville*

That faithfull Seruitor to his Prince and Countre A louer of learning, & all learned men Wise in all doinges Curtesse to all persons shewing spite to none doing good to many and as I well found, to me so fast a frend, as I neuer lost the like before Whan he was gone, my hart was dead There was not one, that woare a blacke gowne for him, who caried a heuier hart for him, than I Whan he was gone, I cast this booke awaie I could not looke vpon it, but with weping eyes, in remembring him, who was the onelie setter on, to do it, and would haue bene, not onelie a glad commender of it, but also a sure and certaine comfort, to me and mine, for it Almost two yeares together, this booke lay scattered, and neglected, and had bene quite giuen ouer of me, if the goodnesse of one had not giuen me some life and spirite againe God, the



mouer of goodnesse, prosper alwaies him & his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more Of whom, most iustlie I may saie, and verie oft, and alwaies gladlie, I am wont to say, that sweete verse of *Sophocles*, spoken by *Oedipus* to worthy *Thesus*

Soph in      ἔχω [γὰρ] ἄχω διὰ σε, κοῖκ ἄλλον βροτῶι  
Oed Col

Thys hope hath helped me to end this booke which, if he allowe, I shall thinke my labours well imployed, and shall not moch æsteme the misliking of any others And I trust, he shall thinke the better of it, bicause he shall finde the best part thereof, to cum out of his Schole, whom he, of all men loued and liked best

Yet some men, frendly enough of nature, but of small iudgement in learninge, do thinke, I take to moch paines, and

Plato in  
initio  
Theagus  
οὐ γὰρ ἴσται  
περὶ οὗτου  
θειοτέρου  
ἀνθρώπου  
ἂν βούλευ  
σαιο ἢ  
περὶ τα  
δεῖας καὶ  
τῶν αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τῶν  
οἰκείων

spend to moch time, in settinge forth these childrens affaires But those good men were neuer brought vp in *Socrates* Schole, who saith plainlie, that no man goeth about à more godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing vp, both of hys owne, and other mens children

Therefore, I trust, good and wise men, will thinke well of this my doing And of other, that thinke otherwise, I will thinke my selfe, they are but men, to be pardoned for their follie, and pitied for their ignorance

In writing this booke, I haue had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of Religion, honestie in liuing, right order in learning In which three waies, I prue God, my poore children may diligently waulke for whose sake, as nature moued, and reason required, and necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines

For, seing at my death, I am not like to leaue them any great store of liuing, therefore in my life time, I thought good to bequeath vnto the, in this litle booke, as in my Will and Testament, the right waie to good learning which if they followe, with the feare of God, they shall verie well cum to sufficiencie of liuinge

I wishe also, with all my hart, that yong M *Rob Sackville*,

may take that fruit of this labor, that his worthie Grauntfather purposed he should haue done And if any other do take, either profit, or pleasure hereby, they haue cause to thanke M Robert Sackville, for whom speciallie this my Scholemaster was prouided

And one thing I would haue the Reader consider in readinge this booke, that because, no Scholemaster hath charge of any childe, before he enter into hys Schole, therefore I leauing all former care, of their good bringing vp, to wise and good Parentes, as a matter not belonging to the Scholemaster, I do appoynt thys my Scholemaster, than, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth Which charge listeth not long, but vntill the Scholer be made hable to go to the Vniuersitie, to proccede in Logike, Rhetoricke, and other kindes of learning

Yet if my Scholemaster, for loue he beareth to hys Scholer, shall teach hym somewhat for hys furtherance, and better iudgement in learning, that may serue him seuen yeare after in the Vniuersitie, he doth hys Scholer no more wrong, nor deserueth no worse name therby, than he doth in London, who sellinge silke or cloth vnto his friend, doth giue hym better measure, than either hys promise or bargaine was

*Farewell in Christ*

## *The first booke for the youth.*

**A**FTER the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right ioyning together of substantiues with adiectiues, the nowne with the verbe, the relatiue with the antecedent And in learninge farther hys Syntaxis, by mine aduice, he shall not vse the common order in common scholes, for making of latines wherby, the childe commonlie learneth, first, an euill choice of wordes, *Cic de Cla. or* (and right choice of wordes, saith *Cæsar*, is the foundation of eloquence) than, a wrong placing of wordes and lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a peruerse iudgement, both of wordes and sentences. These faultes, taking once roote in yougthe, be neuer, or hardlie, pluckt away in age Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from learning, then the care they haue, to satisfie their masters, in making of latines.

For, the scholer, is commonlie beat for the making, whe the master were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather, marring of the same The master many times, being as ignorant as the childe, what to saie properlie and fitlie to the matter

Two scholemasters haue set forth in print, either of them  
*Herman* a booke, of soch kinde of latines, *Herman* and  
*Whitting* *Whittington*  
*ton* A childe shall learne of the better of them, that, which an other daie, if he be wise, and cum to iudgement, he must be faine to vnlearne againe

There is a wrie, touched in the first booke of *Cicero De Oratore*, which, wisely brought into scholes, truly taught, and constantly vsed, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie feare in making of latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie vnderstanding of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doings, what tonge so euer he doth vse

The waie is this After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read vnto hym the Epistles of *Cicero*, gathered together and chosen out by *Sturmius*, for the capacitie of children

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter then, let him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the vnderstanding of it

The order  
of teaching

Lastlie, parse it ouer perfittlie This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it ouer againe so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson Then shewing it to his master,

Two pa  
per booke

let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both together and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well For I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise

Children  
learne by  
praise

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not haue the master, either froune, or chide with him, if the childe haue done his diligence, and vsed no trewardship

therein For I know by good experience, that a childe shall  
 take more profit of two fautes, ientlie warned of,  
 Ientlenes then of foure thinges, rightly hitt For than, the  
 in teaching master shall haue good occasion to saie vnto him

*N Tullie* would haue vsed such a worde, not this *Tullie*  
 would haue placed this word here, not there would haue vsed  
 this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender he  
 would haue vsed this moode, this tens, this simple, rather than  
 this compound this aduerbe here, not there he would haue  
 ended the sentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or  
 participle etc

In these fewe lines, I haue wrapped vp, the most tedious  
 part of Grammer and also the ground of almost all the Rewles,  
 that are so busilie taught by the Master, and so hardlie learned  
 by the Scholer, in all common Scholes which after this sort,  
 the master shall teach without all error, and the scholer shall  
 learne without great paine the master being led by so sure  
 a guide, and the scholer being brought into so plaine and easie  
 a waie And therefore, we do not contemne Rewles, but we  
 gladiie teach Rewles and teach them, more plainlie, sensible,  
 and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common  
 Scholes For whan the Master shall compare *Tullies* booke  
 with his Scholers translation, let the Master, at the first,  
 lead and teach his Scholer, to ioine the Rewles of his Grammer  
 booke, with the examples of his present lesson, vntill the  
 Scholer, by him selfe, be hable to fetch out of his Grammer,  
 euerie Rewle, for euerie Example So, as the Grammer booke  
 be euer in the Scholers hand, and also vsed of him, as a  
*Dictionarye, for euerie present vse* This is a lurly and perfite  
 waie of teaching of Rewles where the common waie, vsed in  
 common Scholes, to read the Grammer alone by it selfe, is  
 tedious for the Master, hard for the Scholer, colde and vn-  
 cumfortable for them bothe

Let your Scholer be neuer afraide, to aske you any dout,  
 but use discretlie the best allurements ye can, to encorage him  
 to the same lest, his ouermoch fearinge of you, driue him  
 to seeke some disorderlie shifte as, to seeke to be helped  
 by some other booke, or to be prompted by some other  
 Scholer, and so goe aboute to begile you moch, and him selfe  
 more

With this waie, of good vnderstanding the mater, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, daile translatinge, cherefull admonishinge, and heedefull amendinge of faultes neuer leauinge behinde iuste praise for well doinge, I would haue the Scholer brought vp withall, till he had red, & translated ouer ye first booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, with a good peece of a Comedie of *Terence* also

All this while, by mine aduise, the childe shall vse to speake no latine For, as *Cicero* saith in like mater, with like wordes, *loquendo, male loqui discunt* And, that excellent Latin learned man, *G Budæus*, in his Greeke Com- speakyng mentaries, sore complaineth, that whan he began *G Bidaus* to learne the latin tonge, vse of speaking latin at the table, and elsewhere, vnadvisedlie, did bring him to soch an euill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the dyes of his life afterward, both for redinesse in speaking, and also good iudgement in writinge

In very deepe, if childe were brought vp, in soch a house, or soch a Schole, where the latin tonge were properlie and perfittie spoken, as *Tib* and *Ca Gracii* were brought vp, in their mother *Cornelius* house, surelie, than the daile vse of speking, were the best and readiest waie, to learne the latin tong But, now, commonlie, in the best Scholes in England, for wordes, right choice is smallie regarded, true proprietic whollie neglected, confusion is brought in, barbariousnesse is bred vp so in yong wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marde for speaking, but also corrupted in iudgement as with moch adoe, or neuer at all, they be brought to right frame againe

Yet all men cquyet to haue their children speake latin and so do I verie earnestlie too We bothe, haue one purpose we agree in desire, we wish one end but we differ somewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end Other would haue them speake at all aduentures and, so they be speakinge, to speake, the Master careth not, the Scholer knoweth not, what This is, to seeme, and not to bee except it be, to be bolde without shame, rashe without skill, full of wordes without witte I wish to haue them speake so, as it may well appeare, that the braine doth gouerne the tonge, and that reason leadeth

forth the taulke *Socrates* doctrine is true in *Plato*, and well marked, and truely vttered by *Horace* in *Arte Poetica*, that, where so euer knowledge doth accompanie the witte, there best vtterance doth alwaies awaite vpon the tonge For, good vnderstanding must first be bred in the childe, which, being nurished with skill, and vse of writing (as I will teach more largelie hereafter) is the onelie wue to bring him to iudgement and readinesse in speakinge and that in farre shorter time (if he followe constantlie the trade of this litle lesson) than he shall do, by common teachinge of the comon scholes in England

But, to go forward, as you perceiue, your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with vnderstanding his lesson more quicklie, with parsing more readelie, with translating more spedelie and perfittlie then he was wonte, after, giue him longer lessons to translate and withall, begin to teach him, both in nownes, & verbes, what is *Proprium*, and what is *Translatum*, what *Synonymum*, what *Diuersum*, which be *Contraria*, and which be most notable *Phrases* in all his lecture

As

<i>Proprium</i>	{ <i>Rex Sepultus est</i> <i>magnificè</i>
<i>Translatum</i>	{ <i>Cum illo principe,</i> <i>Sepulta est &amp; gloria</i> <i>et Salus Reipublicæ</i>
<i>Synonyma</i>	{ <i>Ensis, Gladius</i> <i>Laudare, prædicare</i>
<i>Diuersa</i>	{ <i>Diligere, Amare</i> <i>Galere, Exardescere</i> <i>Inimicus, Hostis</i>
<i>Contraria</i>	{ <i>Acerbum &amp; iufluosum</i> <i>bellum</i> <i>Dulcis &amp; læta</i> <i>Pax</i>
<i>Phrases</i>	{ <i>Dare verba</i> <i>abscere obediensum</i>

Your scholer then, must haue the third paper booke in the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort foure of these forenamed sixe, diligentlie marked out of euerie lesson

The thyrd  
paper booke

Quatuor { *Propria*  
*Translata*  
*Synonyma*  
*Diuersa*  
*Contraria*  
*Phrases*

Or else, three, or two, if there be no moe and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omitte the order, but write these

{ *Diuersa nulla*  
*Contraria nulla etc*

This diligent translating, ioyned with this heedefull marking, in the foresaid Epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine Oration of Tullie, as, *pro lege Manil pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C Cæs* shall worke soch a right choise of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, soch a true iudgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittlelie, as wise men shall both praise, and maruell at

If your scholer do misse sometimes, in marking rightlie these foresaid sixe thinges, chide not hastelie for that shall, both dull his witte, and discourage his diligence but monish him gentelie which shall make him, both willing to amende, and glad to go forward in loue and hope of learning

Ientlenes  
in teaching

I haue now wished, twise or thrise, this gentle nature, to be in a Scholemaster And, that I haue done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, loue is fitter then feare, ientlenes better than beating, to bring vp a childe rightlie in learninge

Loue  
Feare

With the common vse of teaching and beating in common scholes of England, I will not greatlie contend which if I did, it were but a small grammaticall controuersie, neither belonging to heresie nor

Common  
Scholes



treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince although in very deepe, in the end, the good or ill bringing vp of children, doth as much serue to the good or ill seruice, of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beside

I do gladlie agree with all good Scholemasters in these pointes to haue children brought to good perfittnes in learning to all honestie in maners to haue all fautes rightlie amended to haue euerie vice seuerelie corrected but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to these pointes, we somewhat differ

Sharpe  
Schole  
masters

For commonlie, many scholemasters, some, as I haue seen, moe, as I haue heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they ra her breake him, than bowe him, rather marre him, then mend him For whan the scholemaster is ingrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beate his scholer and though he him selfe should be punished for his folie, yet must he beate some scholer for his pleasure though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholer to deserue so These ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be, that be found to be soch They be fond in deepe, but surelie ouermany soch be found euerie where But

Nature  
punished

this will I say, that euen the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punishe nature, as they do correcte faultes Yea, many times, the better nature, is sorer punished For, if one, by quicknes of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnes of witte, taketh it not so speedelie the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished whan a wise scholemaster, should rather discretelie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so moch wey what either of them is able to do now,

Quicke  
wittes for  
learning

as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter For this I know, not onelie by reading of bookes in my studie, but also by experience of life, abroad in the world, that those, which be commonlie the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be olde, were neuer commonlie the quickest of witte, when they were yonge The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that moue me thus to thinke, be these fewe, which I will reckon Quicke wittes commonlie, be apte to take, vnapte to keepe soone hote and destrous of this and that as colde and sone

wery of the same againe: more quicke to enter spedelic, than hable to pearse farre: euen like ouer sharpe tooles, whose edges be verie soone turned. Soch wittes delite them selues in easie and pleasant studies, and neuer passe farre forward in hie and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wittes commonlie may proue the best Poetes, but not the wisest Orators: readie of tonge to speake boldlie, not deepe of iudgement, either for good counsell or wise writing. Also, for maners and life, quicke wittes commonlie, be, in desire, newfingle, in purpose, vnconstant, light to promise any thing, readie to forget euery thing: both benefite and iniurie: and therby neither fast to frend, nor fearefull to foe: inquisitiue of euery trifle, not secret in greatest affaires: bolde, with any person: busie, in euery matter: sothing, soch as be present: nipping any that is absent: of nature also, alwaies, flattering their betters, enuying their equals, despising their inferiors: and, by quicknes of witte, verie quicke and readie, to like none so well as them selues.

Quicke  
wittes, for  
maners &  
lyfe.

Moreouer commonlie, men, very quicke of witte, be also, verie light of conditions: and thereby, very readie of disposition, to be caried ouer quicklie, by any light cumpanie, to any riot and vnthriftines when they be yonge: and therefore seldome, either honest of life, or riche in liuing, when they be olde. For, quicke in witte, and light in maners, be, either seldome troubled, or verie sone wery, in carying a verie heuie purse. Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, ouerquicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brainsicke. These two last wordes, Headie, and Brainsicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturallie of the matter, and tearmed aptlie by the condition, of ouer moch quickenes of witte. In yougthe also they be, readie scoffers, priue mockers, and euer ouer light and mery. In aige, sone testie, very waspish, and alwaies ouer miserable: and yet fewe of them cum to any great aige, by reason of their misordered life when they were yong: but a great deale fewer of them cum to shewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abroad in the world, but either hie obscurelie, men know not how, or dye obscurelie, mā marke not whan. They be like trees, that shewe forth, faire blossoms & broad leaues in spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruite in haruest time. and that

onelic soch, as fall, and rotte, before they be ripe, and so, neuer, or seldome, cum to any good at all. For this ye shall finde most true by experience, that amongst a number of quicke wittes in youthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for them selues, or verie profitable to serue the common wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way except a very fewe, to whom peraduenture blood and happie parentage, may perchance purchase a long standing vpon the stage. The which felicitie, because it commeth by others procuring, not by their owne deseruinge, and stand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag so euer is borne by them, is in deed, of it selfe, and in wise mens eyes, of no great estimation

Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many tymes marde by ouer moch studie and vse of some sciences, namelie, Musicke, Arithmetick, and Geometrie. Thies sciences, as they sharpen mens wittes ouer moch, so they change mens maners ouer sore, if they be not moderatlie mingled, & wisely applied to som good vse of life. Marke all Mathematicall heades, which be onely and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitarie they be theselues, how vnfit to liue with others, & how vnapt to serue in the world. This is not onelic knowen now by common experience, but uttered long before by wise mens Iudgement and sentence. *Galene* saith, moch Musick marreth mens maners and *Plato* hath a notable place of the same thing in his bookes *de Rep* well marked also, and excellentlie translated by *Tullie* himself. Of this matter, I wrote once more at large, xx. yeare ago, in my booke of shoting. now I thought but to touch it, to proue, that ouer moch quicknes of witte, either giuen by nature, or sharpened by studie, doth not commonlie bring forth, eyther greatest learning, best maners, or happiest life in the end.

Contrariwise, a witte in you'h, that is not ouer dulle, heause, knottie and lump she, but hard, rough, and though somewhat staffishe, as *Tullie* wisheth *otum, quatum, non languidum* and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculis*, such a witte I say, if it be, at the first well handled by the mother, and rightlie smothered and wrought as is

should, not overwarthe, and against the wood, by the scholemaster, both for learning, and hole course of liuing, proueth alwaies the best. In woode and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be alwaies aptest, for portriture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for proffit. Hard wittes be hard to receiue, but sure to keepe painefull without werrinesse, hedeless without wauering, constant without newfanglednes bearing heauie thinges, though not lightlie, yet willinglie entring hard thinges, though not easelie, yet depelie, and so cum to that perfittnes of learning in the ende, that quicke wittes, seeme in hope, but do not in deede, or else verie seldome, cuer attaine vnto. Also, for maners and life, hard wittes commonlie, ar hardlie caried, either to desire euerie new thing, or else to meruell at every strange thinge and therefore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busey in other mens affaires and so, they becom wise them selues, and also ar counted honest by others. They be graue, stedfast, silent of tong, secret of hart. Not hastie in making, but constant in keping any promise. Not rashe in vttering, but ware in considering every matter and therby, not quicke in speaking, but deepe of iudgement, whether they write, or giue counsell in all waightie affayres. And theis be the mē, that becom in the end, both most happie for themselues, and alwaies best esteemed abroad in the world.

Hard wittes  
in maners  
and lyfe

I haue bene longer in describing, the nature, the good or ill successe, of the quicke and hard witte, than perchance som will thinke, this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby, plainlie to vtter, what iniurie is offered to all learninge, & to the common welthe also, first, by the fond father in chosing, but chieflie by the lewd scholemaster in beating and driuing away the best natures from learning. A childe that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of witte, is either neuer chosen by the father to be made a scholer, or else, when he commeth to the schole, he is smallie regarded, little looked vnto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges, onelie he neuer lacketh beating, nor any word, that may moue him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may driue him from learning, to any other kinde of liuing.

The best  
wittes del-  
uen from  
learninge  
to oth er li-  
uynge

And when this sadde natured, and hard witted childe, is bette

from his booke, and becummeth after eyther student of  
 the common lawe, or page in the Court, or  
 seruimgman, or bound prentice to a merchant,  
 or to som handiecraft, he proueth in the ende,  
 wiser, happier and many tymes honester too, than  
 many of theis quick wittes do, by their learninge

Learning is, both hundred and inured to, by the ill choice  
 of them, that send yong scholers to the vniuersities Of whom  
 must nedes cum all oure Diuines, Lawyers, and Physicians

Thies yong scholers be chosen commonlie, as yong apples be  
 chosen by children, in a faire garden about S  
 James tyde a childe will chose a sweeting, because it  
 is presentlie faire and pleasant, and refuse a Runnet,  
 because it is than grene, hard, and sowre, whan the  
 one, if it be eaten, doth breed, both wormes and ill humors  
 the other if it stand his tyme, be ordered and kepte as it should, is  
 holsum of it self, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meates  
 Sweetinges, will receyue wormes, rotte, and dye on the tree, and  
 neuer or seldom cum to the gathering for good and lasting store

For verie greafe of harte I will not applie the similitude  
 but hereby, is plainlie seen, how learning is robbed of his best  
 wittes, first by the greate beating, and after by the ill chosing  
 of scholers, to go to the vniuersities Whereof cummeth  
 partelie, that lewde and spitefull prouerbe, sounding to the  
 greate hurte of learning, and shame of learned men, that, the  
 greatest Clerkes be not the wisest men

And though I, in all this d scourse, seem plainlie to prefer,  
 hard and roughe wittes, before quicke and light wittes, both for  
 learning and maners, yet am I not ignorant that som quicknes  
 of witte, is a singuler gifte of God, and so most rare emonges  
 men, and namelie such a witte, as is quicke without lightnes,  
 sharpe without brittlenes, desirous of good thinges without  
 newfangelnes, diliget in painfull thinges without weisomnes,  
 and constant in good will to do all thinges well, as I know was  
 in Syr Iohn Cheke, and is in som, that yet liue, in whome all  
 theis faire qualities of witte ar fullie mette together

But it is notable and trewe, that *Socrates* saith in *Plato* to  
 his frende *Crito* That, that number of men is  
 fewest, which far excede, either in good or ill, in  
 wisdom or folie, but the meane betwixt both, be

Hard wits  
 proue best  
 in euery  
 kynde of  
 life

The ill  
 choice of  
 wittes for  
 learning

the greater number which he proueth trewe in diuerse other things as in greyhounds, emonges which fewe are found, exceeding grea'e, or exceeding lile, exceeding swift, or exceeding slowe And therefore, I speaking of quick and hard wittes, I ment, the common number of quicke and hard wittes, emonges the which, for the most parte, the hard witte, proueth manie times, the better learned, wiser and honeste man and therefore, do I the more lament, that soch wittes commonlie be either kep'e from learning, by fond fathers, or bet from learning by lewde scholemasters

Verie  
good or  
verie ill  
men be  
fewest in  
number

And speaking thus moche of the wittes of children for learning, the opportunitie of the place, and goodnes of the matter might require to haue here declared the most speciall notes of a good witte for learning in a childe, after the maner and custume of a good horsman, who is skilfull, to know, and hable to tell others, how by certein sure signes, a man may choise a colte, that is like to proue an other day, excellent for the saddle And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunningge man for their horse, than a cunningge man for their children They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede For, to the one, they will gladiie giue a stipend of 200 Crownes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200 shillnges God, that sitteth in heauen laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should for them, to haue, tame, and well ordered horse, but wilde and vnfortunate Children and therefore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children

Horsmen  
be wiser in  
knowledge  
of a good  
Colte than  
scholma-  
sters be in  
knowledge  
of a good  
witte

a cunningge

A good Ri-  
der better  
rewarded  
thn a good  
schole  
master

he suffereth

Horse well  
broken  
children ill  
taught.

But concerning the trewe notes of the best wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very iudgement of him, that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is *Socrates* in *Plato*, who expresseth orderlie thies seven plaine notes to choise a good witte in a child for learning.

Plato in 7  
de Rep

Τίτρε  
notes of a  
good wille

- 1 Γύφτης
- 2 Μημων
- 3 Φιλομαθής
- 4 Φιλοσοφός
- 5 Φιληκοός
- 6 Ζητητικός
- 7 Φιλεταίρος

And because I write English, and to Englishemen, I will plainlie declare in English both, what thies wordes of *Plato* meane, and how apte they be linked, and how orderlie they folow one an other

# 1 Γύφτης

Is he, that is apte by goodnes of witte, and appliable by readines of will, to learning, hauing all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that must an other day serue learning, not troubled, mingled, and halfed, but sounde, whole, full, & hable to do their office as, a tong, not stamering, or ouer hardlie drawing forth wordes, but plaine, and redie to deliuer the meaning of the minde a voice, not softe, weake, piping, womannishe, but audible, stronge, and manlike a countenance, not werishe and crabbed, but faire and cumlie a personage, not wretched and deformed, but taule and goodlie for surelie, a cumlie countenance, with a goodlie stature, geueth credit to learning, and authoritie to the person otherwise commonlie, either, open contempte, or priue disfaueur doth hurte, or hinder, both person and learning And, euen as a faire stone requireth to be sette in the finest gold, with the best workmanshyps, or else it leseth moch of the Grace and price, euen so, excellencye in learning, and namely Diuinitie, ioyned with a cumlie personage, is a meruelous Iewell in the world And how can a cumlie bodie be better employed, than to serue the fairest exercise of Goddes greatest gifte, and that is learning But commonlie, the fairest bodies, ar bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so and with examples herein I will not medle yet I wishe, that

those shold, both mynde it, & medle with it, which haue most occasion to looke to it, as good and wise fathers shold do, and greatest authoritie to amend it, as good & wise magistrates ought to do And yet I will not let, openlie to lament the vnfortunate case of learning herein

For, if a father haue foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynde and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shalbe, to put the worst to learning, as one good enoughe to becum a scholer I haue spent the mos<sup>r</sup> parte of my life in the Vniuersitie, and therefore I can beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus wherof, I haue hard many wise, learned, and as good men is euer I knew, make great, and oft complainte a good horseman will choise no soch colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his masters sadle And thus moch of the first note

Deformed  
creatures  
commonlie  
set to lea-  
rning

## 2 Μνήμη

Good of memorie, a speciall parte of the first note εἰσότης, and a mere benefite of nature yet it is so necessarie for learning, as *Plato* maketh it a separate and perfite note of it selfe, and that so principill a note, as without it, all other giftes of nature do small seruice to learning *Afranius*, that olde Latine Poete maketh Memorie the mother of learning and wisdom, saying thus

Memorie

*Aut Gil*

*Vsus me genuit, Mater peperit memoria*, and though it be the mere giste of nature, yet is memorie well preserved by vse, and moch encreased by order, as our scholer must learne an other day in the Vniuersitie but in a childe, a good memorie is well known, by three properties that is, if it be, quicke in receyuing, sure in keping, and redie in deliuering forthe againe

Three sure  
sgnes of a  
good me-  
morie

## 3 Φιλομαθης

Giuen to loue learning for though a child haue all the giftes of nature it wishe, and perfection of memorie at wil, yet if he haue not a speciall loue to learning, he shall neuer attaine to moch learning And therefore *Isocrates*, one of the noblest



scholmasters, that is in memorie of learning, who taught Kings and Princes, as *Halicarnassæus* writeth, and out of whose schole, as *Tullie* saith, came forth, mo noble Capitaines, mo wise Councelors, than did out of *Eprius* horse at *Trui*. This *Isocrates*, I say, did cause to be writtē, at the entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, εἰ ἢ φιλομαθὴς εἶη πολυμαθὴς which excellentlie said in *Greece*, is thus rudelic in *Englishe*, if thou louest learning, thou shalt attayne to moch learning

## 4. Φιλοτονος

Is he, that hath a lust to labor, and a will to take paines For, if a childe haue all the benefites of nature, with perfection of memorie, loue, like, & praise learning neuer so moch, yet if he be not of him selfe painfull, he shall neuer attayne vnto it And yet where loue is present, labor is seldom absent, and namelie in studie of learning, and matters of the mynde and therefore did *Isocrates* rightlie iudge, that if his scholer were φιλομαθὴς he cared for no more *Aristotle*, varying from *Isocrates* in priuate affaires of life, but agreeing with *Isocrates* in common iudgement of learning, for loue and labor in learning, is of the same opiniō, vttered in these wordes, in his *Rhetonke*  
ad Theodecten Libertie kindleth loue Loue  
1 Rhet ad Theod refuseth no labor and labor obteyneth what so  
 euer it seeketh And yet neuerthelesse, Goodnes  
 of nature may do little good Perfection of memorie, may  
 serue to small vse All loue may be employed in vayne Any  
 labor may be some graualed, if a man trust alwaies to his own  
 singuler witte, and will not be glad somtyme to heare, take  
 aduise, and learne of an other And therefore doth *Socrates*  
 very notable adde the fiftē note.

## 5. Φιληκοος

He, that is glad to heare and learne of an other For otherwise, he shall sticke with great trouble, where he might go easelie forward and also catche hardlie a verie litle by his owne toyle, whan he might gather quicklie a good deale, by an others mans teaching But now there be some, that haue great loue to learning, good lust to labor, be willing to learne of others, yet, either of a fonde shamefastnes, or else of a proud

folie, they dare not, or will not, go to learne of an nother And therefore doth *Socrates* wiselie adde the sixte note of a good witte in a childe for learning, and that is.

6 *Ζητητικός*

He, that is naturallie bold to aske any question, desirous to searche out any doute, not ashamed to learne of the meanest, not affraide to go to the greatest, untill he be perfitelie taught, and fullie satisfide I he seventh and last poynte is

7. *Φιλέταινος*

He, that loueth to be praised for well doing, at his father, or masters hand A childe of this nature, will earnestlie loue learning, glidlie labor for learning, willinglie learne of other, boldlie aske any doute And thus, by *Socrates* iudgement, a good father, and a wise scholemaster, shold chose a childe to make a scholer of, that hath by nature, the foresayd perfite qualities, and cumlie furniture, both of mynde and bodie hath memorie, quicke to receyue, sure to keape, and readie to deliuer hath loue to learning hath lust to labor hath desire to learne of others hath boldnes to aske any questiō hath mynde holie bent, to wyne praise by well doing

I he two firste poyntes be speciall benefites of nature which neuerthelesse, be well preserued, and moch encreased by good order But as for the fīue laste, loue, labor, gladnes to learne of others, boldnes to aske doubtēs, and will to wyne praise, be wonne and maintained by the onelie wisdomē and discretiō of the scholemaster Which fīue poyntes, whether a scholemaster shall worke soner in a childe, by fearefull beating, or curtesie handling, you that be wise, iudge

Yet some men, wise in deede, but in this matter, more by seueritie of nature, thā any wisdomē at all, do laugh at vs, when we thus wishe and reason, that yong children should rather be allured to learning by gentilnes and loue, than compelled to learning, by beating and feare They say, our reasons serue onelie to breede forth talke, and passe a waie tyme, but we neuer saw good scholemaster do so, nor neuer red of wise man that thought so

Yes forsothe as wise as they be, either in other mens opinion, or in their owne conceits, I will bring the contrarie

iudgement of him, who, they them selues shall confesse, was as wise as they are, or else they may be iustlie thought to haue small witte at all and that is *Socrates*, whose iudgement in

*Plato* in 7  
de Rep

*Plato* is plainlie this in these wordes which, because they be verie notable, I will recite them in his owne tong, οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας

χρῆ μανθάνει οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ὄνοι βία πονούμενοι χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται, ψυχῇ δέ, βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμονον μάθημα in Englishie thus, No learning ought to be learned with bondage For, bodelic labors, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the bodie but any learning learned by compulsion, tarieth not long in the mynde And why? For what soeuer the mynde doth learne vnwillinglie with feare, the same it doth quicklie forget without care And lest proude wittes, that loue not to be contraryed, but haue lust to wrangle or trifie away troth, will say, that *Socrates* meaneth not this of childrens teaching, but of som other higher learning, heare, what *Socrates* in the same place doth more plainlie say μὴ τοίνυν βία, ὦ ἀρίστε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε that is to say, and therefore, my deare frend, bring not vp your children in learning by compulsion and feare, but by plying and pleasure And you, that do read *Plato*, as

The right  
reading of  
*Plato*

ye shold, do well perceiue, that these be no Questions asked by *Socrates*, as doubtles, but they be Sentences, first affirmed by *Socrates*, as mere

trothes, and after, giuen forth by *Socrates*, as right Rules, most necessarie to be marked, and fitte to be folowed of all them, that would haue children taughte, as they should And in this counsell iudgement, and authoritie of *Socrates* I will repose my selfe, vntill I meete with a man of the contrarie mynde, whom I may iustlie take to be wiser, than I thinke *Socrates*

Yong Ien  
tlemen, be  
wisel er  
taught to  
ryde by co  
mon ry  
ders than  
to learne  
by common  
Schole  
masters

was Fonde scholemasters, neither can vnderstand, nor will folow this good counsell of *Socrates*, but wise ryders, in their office, can and will do both which is the onelie cause, that comonly, the yong gentlemen of England, go so vnwillinglie to schole, and run so fast to the stable For in verie deede fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into the, the hatred of learning, and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed vp in

them, the loue of riding They finde feare, & bondage in scholes, They feele libertie and freedome in stables which causeth them, vtterlie to abhore the one, and most gladlie to haunt the other And I do not write this, that in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade yong gentlemen from the other yea I am sorie, with all my harte, that they be giuen no more to riding, then they be For, of all outward qualities, to ride faire, is most cumelie for him selfe, most necessarye for his contrey, and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceede all other therein It was one of the three excellent praises, amongst the noble gentlemen the old *Percius*, Alwaies to say troth, to ride faire, and shote well and so it was engrauen vpon *Darius* tumbre, as *Strabo* beareth witnesse

*Darius the king, lieth buried here,  
Who in riding and shooting had neuer feare*

But, to our purpose, yong men, by any meanes, leeing the loue of learning, whan by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie, from the schole with them, a perpetuall hatred of their master, and a continuall contempt of learning If ten gentlemen be asked, why they forget so sone in Court, that which they were learning so long in schole, eight of them, or let me be blamed, will laie the fault on their ill handling, by their scholemasters

*Cuspinian* doth report, that, that noble Emperor *Maximilian*, would lament verie oft, his misfortune herein

Yet, some will say, that children of nature, loue pastime, and mislike learning because, in their kinde, the one is easie and pleasant, the other hard and wearisome which is an opinion not so trewe, as some men weene For, the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be yong, as in the order & maner of bringing vp, by them that be old, nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime For, beate a child, if he daunce not well, & cherish him, though he learne not well, ye shall haue him, vawilling to go to daunce, & glad to go to his booke Knocke him alwaies, when he draweth his shaft ill, and fauor him againe, though he saut at his booke, ye shall haue hym verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole

Yea, I saie more, and not of my selfe, but by the iudgement of those, from whom few wisemen will gladlie dissent, that if euer the nature of man be giuen at any tyme, more than other, to receiue goodnes, it is, in innocencie of yong yeares, before, that experience of euill, haue taken roote in hym. For, the pure cleane witte of a sweete yong babe, is like the newest wax, most hable to receiue the best and fayrest printing and like a new bright siluer dishe neuer occupied, to receiue and kepe cleane, anie good thyng that is put into it

And thus, will in children, wiselie wrought withall, maie  
 Will } in Children. { easelie be won to be verie well willing to  
 Witte } learne And witte in childe, by nature,  
 namelie memorie, the onelie keie and keper of  
 all learning, is readiest to receiue, and surest to kepe anie maner  
 of thing, that is learned in yough This, lewde and learned, by  
 common experiece, know to be most trewe For we remember  
 nothyng so well when we be olde, as those things which we  
 learned when we were yong And this is not straunge, but  
 10 or 12 years } common in all natures workes Every man sees,  
 aptest for } (as I sayd before) new wax is best for printyng  
 learnyng } new claie, fittest for working new shorne woll,  
 aptest for sone and surest dying new fresh flesh, for good and  
 durable salting And this similitude is not rude, nor borrowed  
 of the larder house, but out of his scholehouse, of whom, the  
 wisest of England, neede not be ashamed to learne Yong  
 Graftes grow not onelie sonest, but also fairest, and bring alwayes  
 forth the best and sweetest frute yong whelpes learne easelie  
 to carie yong Poppingeis learne quicklie to speake And so, to  
 be short, if in all other thinges, though they lacke reason, sense,  
 and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodnesse,  
 surelie nature, in mankinde, is most beneficiall and effectuell in  
 this behalfe

Therefore, if to the goodnes of nature, be ioyned the  
 wisdom of the teacher, in leading yong wittes into a right and  
 plaine waie of learnyng, surelie, children, kept vp in Gods feare,  
 and gouerned by his grace, maie most easelie be brought well to  
 serue God and contrey both by vertue and wisdom

But if will, and witte, by farder age, be once allured fro  
 innocencie, delited in vaine sightes, filed with soull taulke,  
 crooked with wilfulnesse, hardned with stubburnesse, and let

louse to disobedience, surliche it is hard with gentlenesse, but vnpossible with seuerer crueltie, to call them bicke to good frame againe. For, where the one, perchance maie bend it, the other shall surliche breake it and so in stead of some hope, leaue an assured desperation, and shamelesse contempt of all goodnesse, the fardest pointe in all mischief, as *Aeschylus* doth most trowlie and most wittelie marke

*Am. 1 Cy  
in Pad*

Therefore, to loue or to hate, to like or contemne, to plie this waie or that waie to good or to bad, ye shall haue as ye vse a child in his youth

And one example, whether loue or feare doth worke more in a child, for vertue and learning, I will gladlie report which maie be hard with some pleasure, and folowed with more profit. Before I went into *Germanie*, I came to Brodegate in *Leceter-shire*, to take my leaue of that noble I adie *Lane Grey*, to whom I was exceeding moch beholdinge. Hir parentes, the Duke and Duchesse, with all the houshold, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke. I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge *Phædon Platonis* in Greeke, and that with as moch delite, as som gentleman wold read a merie tale in *Becate*. After salutation, and dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir, whie she wold leese soch pastime in the Parke? smiling she answered me. I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadoc to that pleasure, that I find in *Plato*. Alas good folke, they neuer felt, what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you vnto it? seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men haue attained thercunto. I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will meruell at. One of the greatest benefites, that euer God gaue me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and seuerer Parentes, and so gentle a scholemaster. For whē I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowynge, plaiynge, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, euen so perfitelie, as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which

*Lady Jane  
Grey*

Riche king *Cræsus* with whole *Asia minor*, cummyng tryumph-  
antlie home, his vncle *Cjaxeris* offered him his daughter to  
wife *Cyrus* thanked his vncle, and praised the maide, but for  
marriage he answered him with thies wise and sweete wordes, as

*Xen 8 Cy* they be vttered by *Xenophon*, ὦ κυναζήρη, τό  
*ri Pad* τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν ταῖδα, καὶ δῶρα  
βούλομαι δέ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ  
καὶ [τῇ] τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναίνεσαι, &c., that is to say  
Vncle *Cjaxeris*, I commend the stocke, I like the maide, and  
I allow well the dowrie, but (sayth he) by the counsell and  
consent of my father and mother, I will determine farther of  
thies matters.

Strong *Samson* also in Scripture saw a maide that liked him,  
but he spake not to hir, but went home to his father, and his  
mother, and desired both father and mother to make the  
marriage for him. Doth this modestie, doth this obedience,  
that was in great kyng *Cyrus*, and stoute *Samson*, remaine in  
our yongmen at this daie? no surelie For we lue not  
longer after them by tyme, than we lue farre different from  
them by good order. Our tyme is so farre from that old  
discipline and obedience, as now, not onelie yong gentlemen, but  
euen verie girles dare without all feare, though not without  
open shame, where they list, and how they list, marie them  
selues in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all  
The cause of this euill is, that youth is least looked vnto, when  
they stand [in] most neede of good kepe and regard It auail-  
eth not, to see them well taught in yong yeeres, and after whi  
they cum to lust and youthfull dayes, to giue them licence to  
lue as they lust them selues. For, if ye suffer the eye of a  
yong Gentleman, once to be entangled with vaine sightes, and  
the eare to be corrupted with fond or filthie taulke, the mynde  
shall quicklie fall seick, and sone vomet and cast vp, all the  
holesome doctrine, that he receiued in childhoode, though he  
were neuer so well brought vp before And being ons ingluttred  
with vanitie, he will streight way loth all learning, and all good  
counsell to the same And the parentes for all their great cost  
and charge, reape onelie in the end, the frute  
of grief and care  
This euill, is not common to poore men, as God  
will haue it, but proper to riche and great mens

Great mē-  
sornes  
worst  
brought  
vp.

children, as they deserue it In deede from seuen, to seuentene, yong gentlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought vp But from seuentene to seuen and twentie (the most dangerous tyme of all a mans life, and most shipprie to stay well in) they haue commonlie the reigne of all licens in their owne hand, and speciallie such as do lue in the Court And that which is most to be merueled at, commonlie, the wisest and also best men, be found the sondest fathers in this behalfe And if som good father wold seick some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our Lady) had rather, yet, & will to, haue her sonne cunningg & bold, in making him to lue trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and trauell, to be able to serue his Prince and his contrie, both wiselie in peace, and stouthe in warre, whan he is old

Wise men  
fond fa  
thers

The fault is in your selues, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserue the greater blame, that commonlie, the meaner mens children, cum to be, the wisest counsellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this Realme And why? for God will haue it so, of his prouidence because ye will haue it no otherwise, by your negligence

Meane  
mes sonnes  
come to  
great au  
thoritie

And God is a good God, & wisest in all his doings, that will place vertue, & displace vice, in those kingdomes, where he doth gouerne For he knoweth, that Nobilitie, without vertue and wisdom, is bloud in deede, but bloud trewelie, with ut bones & sinewes & so of it selfe, without the other, verie weeke to beare the burden of weightie affaires.

Nobilitie  
without  
wisdom

The greatest shippe in deede commonlie carieth the greatest burden, but yet alwayes with the greatest ieperdie, not onelie for the persons and goodes committed vnto it, but euen for the shyppe it selfe, except it be gouerned, with the greater wisdom

Nobilitie  
with wise  
dome

But Nobilitie, gouerned by learning and wisdom, is in deede, most like a faire shippe, hauyng tide and winde at will, vnder the reule of a skilfull master whan contrarie wise, a shippe, caried, yea with the hiest tide & greatest winde,

Nobilitie with {  
Wisdom  
Out wise  
dome



I will not name, for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to *M. Limer*, who teacheth me so ientlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, what soeuer I do els, but learning, is ful of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking vnto me. And thus my booke, hath bene so moch my pleasure, & bringeth daily to me more pleasure & more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deepe, be but trifles and troubles vnto me. I remember this talke gladly, both because it is so worthy of memorie, & because also, it was the last talke that euer I had, and the last tyme, that euer I saw that noble and worthie Ladie

I could be ouer long, both in shewing iust causes, and in reciting trewe examples, why learning shold be taught, rather by loue than feare. He that wold see a perfite discourse of it, let him read that learned treatise, which my frende *Sturmius* wrote *de institutione Principis*, to the Duke of *Cleues*.

The godlie counsels of *Salomon* and *Jesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, for sharpe keepinge in, and bridling of youth, are ment rather, for fatherlie correction, then masterlie beating, rather for maners, than for learninge for other places, than for scholes. For God forbid, but all euill touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, slouth, will, stubburnnesse, and disobedience, shold be with sharpe chastisement, daily cut away.

This discipline was well knowen, and diligentlie vsed, among the *Græcians*, and old *Romans*, as doth appeare in *Aristophanes*, *Isocrates*, and *Plat*, and also in the Comedies of *Plautus* where we see that children were vnder the rule of three persones *Præceptor*, *Pædagog*, *Parente* the scholemaster taught him learning with all gentlenes the *Gouernour* corrected his maners, with moch sharpenesse. The father, held the sterne of his whole obedience. And so, he that vsed to teache, did not commolie use to beate, but remitted that ouer to an other mans charge. But what shall we saie, whan now in our dayes, the scholemaster is vsed, both for *Præceptor*

*Sturmius*  
de Inst.  
Princ

Qui par  
cit virge  
et filia.

1 Schole  
master  
2 Gouer  
neur  
3 Father

in learnyng, and *Pædagogus* in maners. Surelie, I wold he shold not cōfound their offices, but discretelie vse the dewtie of both so, that neither ill touches shold be left unpunished, nor rentlesse in teaching anie wise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wiselie he do appointe diuersitie of tyme, & separate place, for either purpose vsing alwaise soch discrete moderation, as the scholehouse should be counted a sanctuarie against feare and verie well learning, & common perdon for ill doing, if the fault, of it selfe be not ouer heinous. The schole house

And thus the children, kept vp in Gods feare, and preserued by his grace, finding paine in ill doing, and pleasure in well studyng, shold easelie be brought to honestie of life, and perfitenes of learning, the onelie marke, that good and wise fathers do wishe and labour, that their children, shold most buselie, and carefullie shot at.

There is an other discommoditie, besides crueltie in schole-masters in beating away the loue of learning from childe, which hindreth learning and vertue, and good bringing vp of youth, and namelie yong gentlemen, verie moch in England. This fault is cleane contrary to the first. I wished before, to haue loue of learning bred vp in children. I wishe as moch now, to haue yong men brought vp in good order of liuing, and in some more seuerer discipline, thē commonlie they be. We haue lacke in England of soch good order, as the old noble *Persians* so carefullie vsed whose children, to the age of *xxi* yeare, were brought vp in learnyng, and exercises of labor, and that in soch place, where they should, neither see that was vncumlie, nor heare that was vn honest. Yea 7  
Cyrus 1st

Yea, a yong gentlemā was neuer free, to go where he wold, and do what he liste himself, but vnder the kepe, and by the counsell, of some graue gouernour, vntill he was, either maryed, or cald to beare some office in the common wealthe.

And see the great obedience, that was vsed in old tyme to fathers and gouernours. No sonne, were he neuer so old of yeares, neuer so great of birth, though he were a kynges sonne, might not mary, but by his father and mothers also consent. *Cyrus* the great, after he had conquered *Babylon*, and subdued

lacking a skilfull master, most commonlie, doth either, sinck it selfe vpon sandes, or breake it selfe vpon rockes. And euen so,

Vaine pleasure,  
and  
stout wilfulnes, two  
greatest  
enemies to  
nobilitie

how manie haue bene, either drowned in vaine pleasure, or ouerwhelmed by stout wilfulnesse, the histories of England be able to affourde ouer many examples vnto vs. Therefore, ye great and noble mens children, if ye will haue rightfullie that praise, and enioie surelie that place, which your fathers haue, and elders had, and left vnto you, ye must kepe it, as they gat it, and that is, by the onelie waie, of vertue, wisdom, and worthinesse.

For wisdom, and vertue, there be manie faire examples in this Court, for yong Ientlemen to folow. But they be, like faire markes in the feild, out of a mans reach, to far of, to shote at well. The best and worthiest men, in deede, be somtimes seen, but seldom taulked withall. A yong Ientleman, may sometime knele to their person, smallie vse their companie, for their better instruction.

But yong Ientlemen are faire commonlie to do in the Court, as yong Archers do in the feild. that is take soch markes, as be ill companie marreth youth. I meene, they be driuen to kepe companie with the worste, and what force ill companie hath, to corrupt good wittes, the wisest men know best.

And not ill companie onelie, but the ill opinion also of the most part, doth moch harme, and namelie of those, which shold be wise in the trewe decyphring, of the good disposition of nature, of cumlinesse in Courtlie maners, and all right doinges of men.

But error and phantasie, do commonlie occupie, the place of troth and iudgement. For, if a yong Ientleman, be demeure and still of nature, they say, he is simple and lacketh witte. if he be bashfull, and will soone blushe, they call him a babishe and ill brought vp thyng, when *Xenophon* doth precisele note in *Cyrus*, that his bashfulnes in youth, was y<sup>e</sup> verie trewe signe of his vertue & stoutnes after. If he be innocent and ignorant of all, they say, he is rude, and hath no grace, so

As in  
*Cyrus*

The Grace  
in Courte.

vngraciouslie do som gracelesse men, misuse the faire and godlie word GRACE

But if ye would know, what grace they meene, go, and looke, and learne emonges them, and ye shall see that it is First, to blush at nothing And blushyng in youth, sayth *Aristotle* is nothing els, but feare to do ill which feare beyng once lustely fraid away from youth, the foloweth, to dare do any mischief, to cōtemne stoutly any goodnesse, to be busie in euery matter, to be skilfull in euery thyng, to acknowledge no ignorance at all To do thus in Court, is coūted of some, the chief and greatest grace of all and termed by the name of a vertue, called Corage & boldnesse, whan *Cicero* in *Cicero* teacheth the cleane contrarie, and that most wittelie, saying thus *Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus coniunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum* Which is to say, to be bold, yea in a good matter, is for it self, greatlie to be exchewed

Grace of  
Courte

Cic 3 de  
Or

Boldnes  
yea in a  
good mat  
ter not to  
be praised

Moreouer, where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh and lie lustelie at other mens liking To face, stand formest, shoue backe and to the meaner man, or vnknowne in the Court, to seeme somewhat solumne, coye, big, and dangerous of looke, trulke, and answer To thinke well of him selfe, to be lustie in contemning of others, to haue some trim grace in a priue mock And in greater presens, to beare a braue looke to be warlike, though he neuer looked enimie in the face in warre yet som warlike signe must be vsed, either a slounglie busking, or an ouerstaring frounced hed, as though out of euerie heeres toppe, should suddenlie start out a good big othe, when nede requireth, yet praised be God, England hath at this time, manie worthie Capitaines and good souldiours, which be in deede, so honest of behaitour, so cumlie of conditions, so milde of maners, as they may be examples of good order, to a good sort of others, which neuer came in warre But to retorne, where I left In place also, to be able to raise taulke, and make discourse of euerie rishe to haue a verie good will, to heare him selfe speake To be seene

More  
Grace of  
Courte

Men of  
warre best  
of conditi  
ons

Palmistrie

in Palmestrie, wherby to conueie to chaste cares, som fond or filthie taulke

And, if som Smithfeild Russian take vp, som strange going som new moving with the mouth som wrinching with the shoulder, som braue prouerbe som fresh new othe, that is not stale, but will rin round in the mouth som new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in facion, or gaurish in colour, what soeuer it cost, how small soeuer his living be, by what shift soeuer it be gotten, gotten must it be, and vsed with the first, or els the grace of it, is stale and gone som part of this gracelesse grace, was discribed by me, in a little rude verse long ago

{ To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to face  
 Foure waies in Court to win men grace  
 If thou be thrall to none of these,  
 Away good Peek go i, hens Iohn Gheese  
 Marke well my word, and marke their dede,  
 And thinke this verse part of thy Crede

Would to God, this taulke were not trewe, and that som mens doinges were not thus I write not to hurte any, but to

Ill { Councell. Copany	proffit som to accuse none, but to monish soch, who, allured by ill counsell, and folowing ill example, cōtrarie to their good bringyng vp, and against their owne good nature, yeld ouer-
moch to thies	folies and faultes I know many seruing men,
Seruinge men	of good order, and well staide And againe, I heare saie, there be som seruing men do but ill
Terentius Plautus	seruice to their yong masters Yea, rede <i>Terence</i> and <i>Plaut</i> aduisedlie ouer, and ye shall finde in
those two	wise writers, almost in euery commedie, no vn-
Seru cor ruptelæ iuuenum	thriftie yong man, that is not brought there vnto, by the sottle inticement of som lewd seruant And euen now in our dayes <i>Geta</i> and <i>Daut</i> ,
Gnatos and	manie bold bawdie <i>Phormios</i> to, be preasing in,
Multu Ge te pauci Parmeno nes	to prattle on euerie stage, to medle in euerie matter, whan honest <i>Parmenis</i> shall not be hard, but beare small swing with their masters Their companie, their taulke, their ouer great experience

in mischief, doth easelie corrupt the best natures, and best brought vp wittes

But I meruell the lesse, that thies misorders be emonges som in the Court, for commonlie in the contrie Misorders  
also euerie where, innocencie is gone Bashful- in the coun-  
nesse is banished moch presumption in youghe trey  
small authoritie in age Reuerence is neglected dewties be  
confounded and to be shorte, disobedience doth overflowe the  
bankes of good order, almoste in euerie place, almoste in euerie  
degree of man

Meane men haue eyes to see, and cause to lament, and occasion to complaine of thies miseries but other haue authoritie to remedie them, and will do so to, when God shall think time fitte For, all thies misorders, be Goddes iuste plages, by his sufferance, brought iustelie vpon vs, for our sinnes, which be infinite in number, and horrible in deede, but namelic, for the greate abhominable sin of vn- Contempt  
kindnesse but what vnkindnesse? euen such of Gods  
vnkindnesse as was in the Iewes, in contemninge trewe Pe-  
Goddes voice, in shrinking fro his woorde, in ligion  
wishing backe againe for *Egypt*, in committing aduoultrie and  
hordom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of Babylon,  
did bring all the plages, destructions, and Captiuities, that fell  
so ofte and horrible, vpon *Israell*

We haue cause also in England to beware of vnkindnesse, who haue had, in so fewe yeares, the Candel of Goddes worde, so oft lightned, so oft put out, and yet will venture by our vnthankfulnesse in doctrine Doctrina  
and sinfull life, to leese againe, lighte, Candle, Mores  
Candlestickes and all

God kepe vs in his feare, God graste in vs the trewe knowledge of his woorde, with a forward will to folowe it, and so to bring forth the sweete frutes of it, & then shall he preserue vs by his Grace, from all manner of terrible dayes

The remedie of this, doth not stand onelie, Publice  
in making good common lawes for the hole Leges  
Realme, but also, (and perchance cheiflie) Domestica  
in obseruing priuate discipline euerie man care- disciplina  
fullie in his own house and namelic, if speciall Cognitio  
regard be had to yougth and that, not so moch, boni

in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that, that is ill

Therefore, if wise fathers, be not as well waare in weeding from their Children ill things, and ill companie, as they were before, in graftinge in them learninge, and providing for them good scholemasters, what fruite, they shall reape of all their coste & care, common experience doth tell

Here is the place, in youthe is the time when some ignorance is as necessarie, as moche knowledge, and not in matters of our dewtie towards God, as som wilful wittes will nglie against their owne knowledge, perniciouslye againste their owne conscience, haue of late openlie taught

In deepe *S. Chrysostome*, that noble and eloquent Doctor, in a sermon *contra fatum*, and the curious verching of natiuities, doth wiselye saie, that ignorance therein, is better than knowledge But to wring this sentence, to wresse thereby out of mens handes, the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reason, against common sence, contrarie to the iudgement also of them, which be the discretelye men, and best learned, on their own side I know, *Julianus Apostata* did so, but I neuer hard or red, that any auneynt father of the primitiue church, either thought or wrote so.

But this ignorance in youthe, which I spake on, or rather this simplicitie, or most trowlie, this innocencie, is that, which the noble *Persians*, as wise *Xenophon* doth testifie, were so carefull, to breede vp their youth in But Christian fathers commonlie do not so And I will tell you a tale, as moche to be misliked, as the *Persians* example is to be folowed

This last somer, I was in a Gentlemans house where a yong childe, somewhat past fower yeare olde, cold in no wise frame his tongue, to saie, a litle shorte grace and yet he could roundlie rap out, so manie vgly othes, and those of the newest facion, as som good man of fourescore yeare olde hath neuer hard named before and that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother wold laughe at it. I

moche doubt, what comforte, an other daie, this childe shall bring vnto them This Childe vsing moche the companie of seruenge men, and geuing good eare to their taulke, did easelie learne, which he shall hardlie forget, all daies of his life hereafter So likewise, in the Courte, if a yong Ientleman will ventur him self into the companie of Ruffians, it is ouer greate a iopardie, lest, their facions, maners, thoughtes, taulke, and deedes, will verie sone, be euer like The confounding of companies, breedeth confusion of good maners Ill compa  
both in the Courte, and euerie where else nie

And it maie be a great wonder, but a greater shame, to vs Christian men, to vnderstand, what a heithen writer, *Isocrates*, doth leaue in memorie of writing, concerning the care, that the noble Citie of *Athens* had, to bring *Isocrates*  
vp their yougthe, in honest companie, and vertuous discipline, whose taulke in Greke, is, to this effect, in Englishe

"The Citie, was not more carefull, to see their Children  
"well taughte, thn to see their yong men well  
"gouerned which they brought to passe, not so In Orat  
"much by common lawe, as by priuate discipline Anopag  
"For, they had more regard, that their yougthe, by good order  
"shold not offend, than how, by lawe, they might be punished  
"And if offense were committed, there was, neither waie to  
"hide it, neither hope of pardon for it Good natures, were  
"not so moche openlie praised as they were secretlie marked,  
"and watchfullie regarded, lest they should lease the goodnes  
"they had Therefore in scholes of singing and dauncing, and  
"other honest exercises, gouernours were appointed, more  
"diligent to ouersee their good maners, than their masters were,  
"to teach them anie learning It was som shame to a yong  
"man, to be scene in the open market and if for businesse, he  
"passed throughe it, he did it, with a meruelous modestie, and  
"bashfull facion To eate, or drinke in a Tauerne, was not  
"onelic a shame, but also punishable, in a yong man To  
"contrarie, or to stand in termes with an old man, was more  
"heinous, than in som place, to rebuke and scolde with his  
"owne father with manie other mo good orders, and faire  
disciplines, which I referre to their reading, that hane lust  
to looke vpon the description of such a worthie common  
welthe



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Here is the place, in yougthe is the time whan some ignorance is as necessarie, as moche knowledge, and not in matters of our dewtie towards God, as some wilful wittes willinglie against their owne knowledge, perniciouslie againste their owne conscience, haue of late openlie taught. In deede *S Chrysostome*, that noble and eloquent Doctor, in a sermon *contra fatum*, and the curious searchinge of natiuities, doth wisely saie, that ignorance therein, is better than knowledge. But to wring this sentence, to wreste thereby out of mens handes, the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reason, against common sence, contrarie to the iudgement also of them, which be the discreetest men, and best learned, on their own side. I know, *Julianus Apostata* did so, but I neuer hard or red, that any auntyent father of the primitive church, either thought or wrote so

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"owne father with manie other mo good orders, and faire  
disciplines, which I referre to their reading, that haue lust  
to looke vpon the description of such a worthe common  
welthe

And to know, what worthe frute, did spring of soch  
 Good seide      worthe seide, I will tell yow the most meruell  
 worthe      of all, and yet soch a trothe, as no man shall  
 frute      denie it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge  
 of the best stories

*Athens*, by this discipline and good ordering of youthe, did  
 breede vp, within the circute of that one Citie,  
*Athenes*      within the compas of one hondred yeare, within  
 the memorie of one mans life, so manie notable Capitaines in  
 warre, for worthinesse, wisdom and learning, as be scarce  
*Roma*      matchable no not in the state of Rome, in the  
 compas of those seauen hondred yeares, when it  
 florished moste

And bicause, I will not onelie saie it, but also proue it, the  
 names of them be these *Miltiades, Themistocles,*  
*The nol le*      *Xantippus, Pericles, Cyman, Aljocides, Thrazbulus,*  
*Capita nes*      *Canon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus,*  
*of Athens*      *Demetrius,* and diuers other mo of which euerie one, maie  
 iustelie be spoken that worthe praise, which was geuen to  
*Scipio Africanus*, who, *Cicero* douteth, whether he were, more  
 noble Capitaine in warre, or more eloquent and wise counselor  
 in peace And if ye beleue not me, read dili  
*Amil*      gentlie, *Emilius Probus* in Latin, and *Plutarche*  
*Probus*      in Greke, which two, had no cause either to  
*Plutarchus*      flatter or lie vpon anie of those which I haue  
 recited

And beside nobilitie in warre, for excellent and matchles  
 The lear      masters in all maner of learninge, in that one  
 ned of A      Citie, in memorie of one aige, were mo learned  
 thenes      men, and that in a maner altogether, than all  
 tyme doth remember, than all place doth affourde, than all other  
 tonges do contene And I do not meene of those Authors,  
 which, by iniurie of tyme, by negligence of men, by crueltie of  
 fier and sworde, be lost, but euen of those, which by Goddes  
 grace, are left yet vnto us of which I thank God, euen my  
 poore studie lacketh not one As, in Philosophie, *Plato, Aris-*  
*totle, Xenophon, Euclide and Theophrast* In eloquens and Ciuill  
 lawe, *Demosthenes, Eschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades,*  
*Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides* In histories, *He-*  
*rodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon* and which we lacke, to our

great losse, *Theopompus* and *Eph[orus]* In Poetrie, *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, and somewhat of *Menander*, *Demosthenes* sister sonne

Now, let Italian, and Latin it self, Spanishe, French, Dutch, and Englishe bring forth their learning, and recite their Authors, *Cicero* onelie excepted, and one or two moe in Latin, they be all patched cloutes and rigges, in comparison of faire wouen broade clothes And trewelie, if there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borrowed, or stolne, from some one of those worthie wittes of *Athens*

Learning chiefly contained in the Greke and in no other tong

The remembrance of such a common welthe, vsing such discipline and order for youthe, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leauing to vs for our example, such Capitaines for warre, such Counselors for peace, and matcheles masters, for all kinde of learninge, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksome, I trust, for other to heare, except it be soch, as make neither counte of vertue nor learninge

And whether, there be anie soch or no, I can not well tell yet I heere saie, some yong Ientlemen of oures, count it their shame to be counted learned and perchance, they count it their shame, to be counted honest also, for I heere saie, they medle as litle with the one, as with the other A meruelous case, that Ientlemen shold so be ashamed of good learning, and neuer a whit ashamed of ill maners soch do saie for them, that the Ientlemen of France do so which is a lie, as God will haue it *Longæus*, and *Bellaëus* that be dead, & the noble *Vidam* of Chartres, that is alieue, and infinite mo in France, which I heere tell of, proue this to be most false And though som, in France, which will nedes be Ientlemen, whether men will or no, and haue more ientleshipe in their hat, than in their hed, be at deedlie feude, with both learning and honestie, yet I beleue, if that noble Prince, king *Francis* the first were alieue, they shold haue, neither place in his Courte, nor pens on in h's warres, if he had knowledge of them This opinion is not French, but plaine Turckishe from whens, some Frenche fetch more faultes, than this which, I praye God, kepe out of

Contemners of learning

Ientlemen of France

Franciscus  
1 Nobis  
Francoru  
Rex

England, and send also those of oures better mindes, which bend them selues againste vertue and learninge, to the contempte of God, dishonor of their contrie to the hurt of manie others, and at length, to the greatest harme, and vtter destruction of themselves

Som other, hauing better nature, but lesse witte, (for all commonlie, haue ouer moch witte) do not vtterlie dispraise learning, but they saie, that without learning, Experience without learning common experience, knowledge of all facions, and hunting all companies, shall worke in yougthe, both wisdom, and habilitie, to execute anie weightie affaie Surelie long experience doth proffet moch, but moste, and almost onelie to him (if we meene honest affaires) that is diligentlie before instructed with preceptes of well doinge For good precepts of learning, be the eyes of the minde, to looke wiselie before a man, which waie to go right, and which not

Learning teacheth more in one yeare than experience in Experience twentie And learning teacheth safelie when experience maketh mo miserable then wise He hazardeth sore, that waxeth wise by experience An vnhappy Master he is, that is made cunning by manie shippewrales A miserable merchant, that is neither riche or wise, but after som bankroutes. It is costlie wisdom, that is bought by experience We know by experience it selfe, that it is a meruelous paine, to finde oute but a short waie, by long wandering And surelie, he that wold proue wise by experience, he maie be wittie in deede, but euen like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of his waie, and vpon the night, he knoweth not whither And verilie they be fewest of number, that be happy or wise by vnlearned experience. And looke well vpon the former life of those fewe, whether your example be old or yonge, who without learning haue gathered, by long experience, a litle wisdom, and som happines and whan you do consider, what mischeife they haue committed, what dangers they haue escaped (and yet xx for one, do perishe in the aduenture) than thinke well with your selfe, whether ye wold, that your owne son, should cum to wisdom and happines, by the waie of soch experience or no

It is a notable tale, that old Syr Roger Chamble, sometime

cheife Iustice, wold tell of him selfe When he was Auncient  
in Inne of Courte, Certaine yong Ientlemen  
were brought before him, to be corrected for  
certaine misorders And one of the lustiest saide

Syr Roger  
Chamloe

Syr, we be yong Ientlemen, and wisemen before vs, haue  
proued all facions, and yet those haue done full well this they  
saide, because it was well knowen, that Syr Roger had bene a  
good feloe in his youghth But he aunswered them verie wiselie  
In deede saith he, in yougthe, I was, as you ar now and I  
had twelue feloes like vnto my self, but not one of them came  
to a good ende And therfore, folow not my example in youghth,  
but folow my counsell in aige, if euer ye thinke to cum to this  
place, or to thies yeaeres, that I am cum vnto, lesse ye meete  
either with pouertie or Tiburn in the way

Thus, experience of all facions in yougthe, beinge, in prose,  
alwaie daungerous, in isshue, seldom lucklie, is  
a waie, in deede, to ouermoch knowledge, yet  
used commonlie of soch men, which be either caried by som  
curious affection of mynde, or driuen by som hard necessitie of  
life, to hazard the triall of ouer manie perilous aduentures

Experienc

*Erasmus* the honor of learning of all oure time, saide  
wiselie that experience is the common schole  
house of foles, and ill men Men, of witte and  
honestie, be otherwise instructed For there be,  
that kepe them out of fier, and yet was neuer  
burned That beware of water, and yet was neuer  
me drowninge That hate harlottes, and was  
neuer at the stewes That abhorre falshode, and neuer brake  
promis themselves

*Frasmus*

Experienc  
the schole  
house of  
Foles and  
ill men.

But will ye see, a fit Similitude of this aduentured experience  
A Father, that doth let louse his son, to all experiences, is most  
like a fond Hunter, that letteth slippe a whelp to the hole  
herde Twentie to one, he shall fall vpon a rascal, and let  
go the faire game Men that hunt so, be either ignorant  
persones, preuie stealers, or night walkers

Learning therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing vp,  
and not blinde & dangerous experience, is the next and readiest  
waie, that must leede your Children, first, to wisdom, and than  
to worthnesse, if euer ye purpose they shall cum there

And to saie all in shorte, though I lacke Authoritie to giue

counsell, yet I lacke not good will to wisse, that the yongthe  
 How expe- in England, speciallie Ientlemen, and namelie no-  
 rien e may bilitie, shold be by good bringing vp, so grounded  
 profit in iudgement of learninge, so founded in loue of  
 honestie, as, when they shold be called forth to the execution  
 of great affaires, in seruice of their Prince and contrie, they  
 might be hable, to vse and to order, all experiences, were they  
 good were they bad, and that, according to the square, rule, and  
 line, of wisdom learning and vertue

And, I do not meene, by all this my taulke, that yong  
 Ientlemen, should alwaies be poring on a booke,  
 D'ligen and by vsng good studies, shold lease honest  
 learn age and by vsng good studies, shold lease honest  
 ought to be pleasure, and haunt no good pastime, I meene  
 joynd with nothing lesse For it is well knowne, that I both  
 p easart like and loue, and haue alwaies, and do yet still  
 pastimes, vse, all exercises and pastimes, that be fitte for my  
 namelie in a nature and habilitie And beside naturall dispo-  
 gentleman sition, in iudgement also, I was neuer, either Stoick in doctrine,  
 or Anabaptist in Religion, to mislike a merie, pleasant, and  
 plaifull nature, if no outrage be committed, against lwe,  
 mesure, and good order.

Therefore, I wold wishe, that, beside some good time, filie  
 appointed, and constantlie kepte, to encrease by readinge, the  
 knowledge of the tonges and learning, yong ientlemen shold  
 Learning vse, and delite in all Courtelie exercises, and  
 ioynd with ientlemanlike pastimes. And good cause whie  
 pastimes For the self same noble Citie of Athenes, iustlie  
 commended of me before, did wiselie and vpon great considera-  
 tion, appoint, the *Muses*, *Apolls*, and *Pallas*, to be patrones of  
 learninge to their yongthe For the *Muses*,  
*Muse* besides learning, were also Ladies of dauncinge,  
*Apollo* mirthe and minstrelsie *Apolls*, was god of shooting,  
*Pallas* and Author of cunning playing vpo Instrumentes  
*Pallas* also was Laidie mistres in warres

Wher-  
 bie was nothing else ment, but that learninge shold be alwa se  
 mingled, with honest mirthe, and cumle exercises and that  
 warre also shold be gouerned by learning, and moderated by  
 wisdom, as did well appeare in those Capitaines of *Athenes*  
 named by me before, and also in *Scipio* & *Cesar*, the two  
 Diamondes of Rome

And *Pallas*, was no more feared, in weering *Ægida*, thī she was prused, for chosing *Oliua* whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus, was Gouvernour & Mistres, in the noble Citie of *Athenes*, both of warre and peace

Learning  
rewleth  
both warre  
and peace

Therefore, to ride cumlie to run fure at the tilte or ring to plaie at all weapones to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon to viut lustely to runne to leape to wrestle to swimme To daunce cumlie to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunninggly to Hawke to hunte to playe at tennes, & all pastimes generally, which be ioyned with labor, used in open place, and on the day light, conteining either some fitte exercise for warre, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not onelie cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Gentleman to vse

The pas-  
times that  
be fitte for  
Courtlie  
Ientleme

But, of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a Gentleman, I will, godwilling, in fitter place, more at large, declare fullie, in my booke of the Cockpitte which I do write, to satisfie som, I trust, with som reason, that be more curious, in marking other mens doinges, than carefull in mending their owne faultes And som also will nedes busie them selues in merueling, and adding thereunto unfrendlie taulke, why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my Prince, do make choise to spend soch tyme in writyng of trifles, as the schole of shooting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the first Principles of Grammer, rather, than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of Religion, or Ciuill discipline

The Cock  
pitte

Wise men I know, will well allow of my choise herein and as for such, who haue not witte of them selues, but must learne of others, to iudge right of mens doynge, let them read that wise Poet *Horace* in his *Arte Poetica*, who willethe wisemen to beware, of hie and losstie Titles. For, great shippes, require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous gouernment Small boates, be neither verie chargeable in making, nor verie oft in great ieperdie and yet they cary many tymes, as good and costlie ware, as greater vessels do A meane Argument, may easelie beare, the light burden of a small faute, and haue alwaie at hand, a ready excuse for

A booke of  
a losstie title  
beareth the  
brag of o-  
vergreat a  
promise



ill handling

The right  
choise to  
chose a fitte  
Argument  
to write  
vpon

*Hor in  
Arte Poet*

And, some praise it is, if it so chaunce, to be better in deede, thū a man dare venture to seeme. A hye title, doth charge a man, with the heauie burden, of to great a promise and therefore sayth *Horace* verie wittellie, that, that Poete was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise

*Fortunam Priami cantabo & nobile bellum,*

And after, as wiselie

*Quantū rectius hic, qui nil molitur ineptū etc*

Meening

*Hon ers*  
wisdom in  
choise of  
h s Argu  
ment

*Hemer*, who, within the compasse of a smal Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter so moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the iudgement of *Quintilian*, he deserueth so hie a praise, that no min yet deserued to sit in the second degree beneth him And thus moch out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, & tyme, vpon trifles, & namelye to aunswere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them selues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other

To ioyne learnyng with cumlie exercises, *Conto Baldeser Castiglione* in his booke, *Cortegiano*, doth trimlie teache which booke, aduisedlie read, and diligently folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong gentleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares trauell abroad spent in

*Italie* And I meruell this booke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, sayng it is so well translated into English by a worthie gentleman *Syr Th Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furnished with learnyng, and very expert in knowledge of diuers tonges

And beside good preceptes in bookes, in all kinde of tonges, this Court also neuer lacked many faire examples, for yong gentlemen to folow And surely, one example, is more valuable, both to good and ill, than xx preceptes written in bookes and so *Platz*, not in one or two, but diuerse places, doth plainly teach

*Examples*  
better then  
preceptes.

If kyng *Eduard* had liued a litle longer, his onely example had breed soch a rase of worthie learned ientlemen, as this Realme neuer yet did affourde.

*King Ed. 6.*

And, in the second degree, two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke, and Lord *H. Matreuers*, were soch two examples to the Court for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wishe, than looke for agayne.

The yong  
Duke of  
Suffolke.

*L. H. Mar-  
treuers.*

At Cambrige also, in S. Iohns Colledge, in my tyme, I do know, that, not so much the good statutes, as two Ientlemen, of worthie memorie *Syr Iohn Cheke*, and Doctour *Readman*, by their onely example of excellency in learnyng, of godlynes in liuyng, of diligēcie in studyng, of counsell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng, did breed vp, so many learned men, in that one Colledge of S. Iohns, at one time, as I beleue, the whole Vniuersitie of *Louaine*, in many yeaes, was neuer able to affourd.

*Syr Iohn  
Cheke.*

*D. Read  
man*

Present examples of this present tyme, I list not to touch: yet there is one example, for all the Ientlemen of this Court to folow, that may well satisfie them, or nothing will serue them, nor no example moue them, to goodnes and learning.

*Queene  
Elizabeth*

It is your shame, (I speake to you all, you yong Ientlemen of England) that one mayd should go beyond you all, in excellencie of learnyng, and knowledge of diuers tonges. Pointe forth six of the best giuen Ientlemen of this Court, and all they together, shew not so much good will, spend not so much tyme, bestow not so many houres, dayly orderly, & constantly, for the increase of learning & knowledge, as doth the Queenes Maiestie her selfe. Yea I beleue, that beside her perfit readines, in *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, & *Spanish*, she readeth here now at *Windsore* more Greeke every day, than some Prebendarie of this Chirch doth read *Latin* in a whole weeke. And that which is most praise worthie of all, within the walles of her priue chamber, she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to vnderstand, speake, & write, both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarce one or two rare wittes in both the Vniuersities haue in many yeaes reached vnto. Amongest all the benefites y<sup>t</sup> God hath blessed me with all, next the

knowledge of Christes true Religion, I counte this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me, to be one poore minister in setting forward these excellent giftes of learning in this most excellent Prince. Whose onely example, if the rest of our

nobilitie would folow, than might England be, for learning and wisdom in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men: The best examples haue neuer such force to moue to any goodnes, as the bad, vaine, light and fond, haue to all ilnes.

And one example, though out of the compas of learning, yet not out of the order of good maners, was notable in this Courte, not fullie xxiiij. yeares ago, when all the actes of Parliament, many good Proclamations, diuerse strait commaundementes, sore punishment openlie, speciall regarde priuatelie, cold not do so moch to take away one disorder, as the example of one big one of this Courte did, still to kepe vp the same: The memorie whereof, doth yet remaine, in a common prouerbe of Birching lane

Take hede therefore, ye great ones in ye Court, yea though ye be ye greatest of all, take hede, what ye do, take hede how ye liue. For as you great ones use to do, so all meane men loue to do. You be in deed, makers or marrers, of all mens maners within the Realme. For though God hath placed yow, to be cheife in making of lawes, to beare greatest authoritie, to commaund all others: yet God doth order, that all your lawes, all your authoritie, all your commaundementes, do not halfe so moch with meane men, as doth your example and maner of liuinge. And

Example in Religio for example euen in the greatest matter, if yow your selues do serue God gladlie and orderlie for conscience sake, not coldlie, and somtyme for maner sake, you came all the Courte with yow, and the whole Realme beside, earnestlie and orderlie to do the same. If yow do otherwise, yow be the onelie authors, of all misorders in Religion, not onelie to the Courte, but to all England beside. Infinite shall be made cold in Religion by your example, that neuer were hurt by reading of bookes.

And in meaner matters, if three or foure great ones in

Courte, will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colers, let the Prince Proclame, make Lawes, order, punishe, commaunde euerie gate in London daile to be watched, let all good men beside do euerie where what they can, surelie the disorder of apparell in mean men abroad, shall neuer be amended, except the greatest in Courte will order and mend them selues first I know, som greate and good ones in Courte, were authors, that honest Citizens of London, shoulde watche at euerie gate, to take misordered persones in apparell I know, that honest Londoners did so And I sawe, which I sawe than, & reporte now with some greife, that som Courtlie men were offended with these good men of London And that, whch greued me most of all, I sawe the vene same tyme, for all theis good orders, commaunded from the Courte and executed in London, I sawe I say, cum out of London, euen vnto the presence of the Prince, a great rable of meane and light persons, in apparell, for matter, against lawe, for making, against order, for facion, namelie hose, so without all order, as he thought himselfe most braue, that durst do most in breaking order and was most monstereous in disorder And for all the great commaundementes, that came out of the Courte, yet this bold disorder, was winked at, and borne withall, in the Courte I thought, it was not well, that som great ones of the Court, durst declare themselves offended, with good men of London, for doinge their dewtie, & the good ones of the Courte, would not shew themselves offended, with ill men of London, for breaking good order I sownde thereby a sayinge of *Socrates* to be most trewe that ill men be more hastie, than good men be forward, to prosecute their purposes, euen as Christ himselfe saith, of the Children of light and darknes

I sawe le  
in apparell

Waters,  
Fishers, &  
Scholars  
of Iense

Beside apparell, in all other thinges to, not so moch, good lawes and strait commaundementes as the example and maner of liuing of great men, doth carie all meane men euerie where, to like, and loue, & do, as they do For if but two or three noble men in the Court, wold but beginne to shoote, all yong Ientlemen, the whole Court, all London, the whole Realme, wold straight waie exercise shooting

Example  
in shoo-  
ing

What praise shold they wyne to themselves, what commoditie shold they bring to their contrey, that would thus deserue to be pointed at: Beholde, there goeth, the author of good order, the guide of good men. I cold say more, and yet not ouermuch. But perchance, som will say, I haue stepte to farre, out of my schole, into the common welthe, from teaching

Writte not  
for great  
me, but for  
great mens  
children.  
a yong scholer, to monishe greate and noble men:  
yet I trust good and wise men will thinke and  
iudge of me, that my minde was, not so moch,  
to be busie and bold with them, that be great  
now, as to giue trewe aduise to them, that may  
be great hereafter.

Who, if they do, as I wishe them to do,  
how great so euer they be now, by blood and other mens  
meanes, they shall becum a greate deale greater hereafter, by  
learninge, vertue, and their owne desertes: which is trewe praise,  
right worthines, and verie Nobilitie in deede. Yet, if som will  
needes presse me, that I am to bold with great men, & stray to

farre from my matter, I will aunswere them with  
Ad Philip *S. Paul, siue pere ontentionem, siue quacunq; modo,*  
*modò Christus prædicetur, &c.* euen so, whether in place, or out  
of place, with my matter, or beside my matter, if I can hereby  
either prouoke the good, or staye the ill, I shall thinke my  
writing herein well employed.

But, to cum downe, from greate men, and hier matters, to  
my litle children, and poore scholehouse againe, I will, God  
willing, go forwarde orderlie, as I purposed, to instructe  
Children and yong men, both for learninge and maners.

Hitherto, I haue shewed, what harme, ouermoch feare  
bringeth to children and what hurte, ill companie, and ouer-  
moch libertie breedeth in yougthe meening thereby, that from  
seauen yeare olde, to seauentene, loue is the best allurements to  
learninge from seauentene to seauen and twentie, that wise  
men shold carefullie see the steppes of yougthe surelie staide by  
good order, in that most slipperie tyme: and speciallie in the  
Courte, a place most dangerous for yougthe to lue in, without  
great grace, good regarde, and diligent looking to.

Syr Richard Sackvile, that worthy Ientleman of worthy  
Traelyng  
into Ita  
lie.  
memorie, as I sayd in the begynnyng, in the  
Queenes priue Chamber at Windesore, after he  
had talked with me, for the right choice of a good

witte in a child for learnyng, and of the trewe difference betwixt  
 quicke and hard wittes, of alluring yong children by gentlenes  
 to loue learnyng, and of the speciall care that was to be had, to  
 keepe yong men from licencious luyng, he was most earnest  
 with me, to haue me say my mynde also, what I thought,  
 concernyng the fansie that many yong gentlemen of England  
 haue to trauell abroad, and namely to lead a long lyfe in Italie.  
 His request, both for his authoritie, and good will toward me,  
 was a sufficient commaundement vnto me, to satisfie his  
 pleasure, with vtterying plainlie my opinion in that matter.  
 Syr quoth I, I take goyng thither, and liuing there, for a yonge  
 gentleman, that doth not goe vnder the kepe and garde of such  
 a man, as both, by wisdomc can, and authoritie dare rewele him,  
 to be meruelous dangerous And whie I said so than, I will  
 declare at large now. which I said than priuatelie, and write  
 now openlie, not bicause I do contemne, either the knowledge  
 of strange and diuerse tonges, and namelic the  
 Italian tonge, which next the Greeke and Latin  
 tonge, I like and loue aboue all other or else  
 bicause I do despise, the learning that is gotten, or the experi-  
 ence that is gathered in strange contries or for any priuate  
 malice that beare to Italie which contrie, and  
 in it, namelic Rome, I haue alwayes speciallie  
 honored bicause, tyme was, whan Italie and  
 Rome, haue bene, to the grete good of vs that now liue, the  
 best breeders and bringers vp, of the worthiest men, not onelie  
 for wise speakinge, but also for well doing, in all Ciuill affaires,  
 that euer was in the worlde But now, that tyme is gone, and  
 though the place remayne, yet the olde and present maners, do  
 differ as farre, as blacke and white, as vertue and vice Vertue  
 once made that contrie Mistres ouer all the worlde Vice now  
 maketh that contrie slaue to them, that before, were glad to  
 serue it All men seeth it They themselves confesse it,  
 namelic soch, as be best and wisest amongst them For sinne,  
 by lust and vanitie, hath and doth breed vp euery where,  
 common contēpt of Gods word, priuate contention in many  
 families, open factions in euery Citie and so, makyng them  
 selues bonde, to vanitie and vice at home, they are content to  
 beare the yoke of seruyng straungers abroad Italie now, is not  
 that Italie, that it was wont to be and therfore now, not so

The Ita  
lian tongItalia  
Roma

fitte a place, as some do counte it, for yong men to fetch either wisdom or honestie from thence For surelie, they will make other but bad Scholers, that be so ill Masters to them selues Yet, if a Gentleman will nedes trauell into *Italie*, he shall do well, to looke on the life, of the wisest traueler, that euer traueled thether, set out by the wisest writer, that euer spake with tong, Gods doctrine onelie excepted and that is *Vlysses* in

*Vlysses* *Homere* *Vlysses*, and his trauell, I wishe our trauelers to looke vpon, not so much to feare them, with the great daungers, that he many tymes suffered, as to instruct them, with his excellent wisdom, which he alwayes and euerywhere vsed Yea euen those, that be learned and wittie trauelers, when they be disposed to prayse traueling, as a great commendacion, and the best Scripture they haue for it, they gladlie recite the third verse of *Homere*, in his first booke of *Odysssea*, containyn<sup>g</sup> a great prayse of *Vlysses*, for the witte he gathered, & wisdom he vsed in  
 Odys a. his traueling

Which verse, because, in mine opinion, it was not made at the first, more naturallie in *Greece* by *Homere*, nor after turned more aptlie into *Latin* by *Heraclitus*, than it was a good while ago, in *Cambridge*, translated into *English*, both plainlie for the sense, and roundlie for the verse, by one of the best Scholers, that euer *S. Iohns Colledge* bred, *M. Watson*, myne old friend, sometime Bishop of *Lincolne*, therefore, for their sake, that haue lust to see, how our *English* tong, in auoiding barbarous ryming, may as well receiue, right quantitie of syllables, and trewe order of versifying (of which matter more at large hereafter) as either *Greece* or *Latin*, if a cunning man haue it in handling, I will set forth that one verse in all three tonges, for an Example to good wittes, that shall delite in like learned exercise

**HOMERUS**

πολλων δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεις ἄστεα καὶ πόας ἔγνων

**HORATIUS**

Qui res hominum multorum vidit & urbes

**M. WATSON**

*All trauellers do gladly report great prayse of Ilysses,  
 For that he knew many mens maners, and saw many Cities*

And yet is not *Vlysses* commended, so much, nor so oft, in *Homere*, because he was *πολυτροπος*, that is, skilfull in many mes manners and facions, as because he was *πολυμητις*, that is, wise in all purposes, & ware in all places which wisdomes and waresnes will not serue neither a traueler, except *Pallas* be alwayes at his elbow, that is Gods speciall grace from heauen, to kepe him in Gods feare, in all his doynge, in all his iorneye For, he shall not alwayes in his absence out of England, light vpon a ientle *Alcynous*, and walke in his faire gardens full of all harmelesse pleasures but he shall sometymes, fall, either into the handes of some cruell *Cyclops*, or into the lappe of some wanton and dalying Dame *Calypso* and so suffer the danger of many a deadlie Denne, not so full of perils, to distroy the body, as, full of vayne pleasures, to poyson the mynde Some *Siren* shall sing him a song, sweete in tune, but sownding in the ende, to his vtter destruction If *Scylla* drowne him not, *Carybdis* may fortune swallow hym Some *Circes* shall make him, of a plaine English man, a right *Italian* And at length to hell, or to some hellish place, is he likeli to go from whence is hard returning, although one *Vlysses*, and that by *Pallas* ayde, and good counsell of *Tiresias* once escaped that horrible Den of deadly darkenes

Therefore, if wise men will nedes send their sonnes into *Italie*, let them do it wiselie, vnder the kepe and garde of him, who, by his wisdomes and honestie, by his example and authoritie, may be hable to kepe them safe and sound, in the feare of God, in Christes trewe Religion, in good order and honestie of liuyng except they will haue them run headling, into ouermany ioperdies, as *Vlysses* had done many tymes, if *Pallas* had not alwayes gouerned him if he had not vsed, to stop his eares with waxe to bind him selfe to the mast of his shyp to feede dayly, vpon that swete herbe *Moly* with the blake roote and white floore, guen vnto hym by *Mercurie*, to auoide all the inchantmetes of *Circes* Wherby, the Diuine

*Vlyss* { *πολυτροπος*  
*πολυμητις*

*Pallas* from  
heauen

*Alcynous* οδ 2

*Cyclops* οδ 1

*Calypso* οδ 6

*Sirenes* } οδ μ  
*Scylla*  
*Carybdis* }  
*Circes* οδ κ

οδ λ

οδ μ.

οδ κ

*Moly* Her  
ba



Poete *Horace* ment couertlie (as wise and Godly men do iudge)  
 that lue of honestie, and hatred of ill, which  
 Psal 33 *Dauid* more plainly doth call the feare of God  
 the onely remedie agaynst all inchantementes of sinne

I know diuerse noble personages, and many worthie Gentlemen of England, whom all the *Siren* songes of *Italie*, could neuer vntwyne from the maste of Gods word nor no inchantment of vanitie, ouerturne them, from the feare of God, and loue of honestie

But I know as many, or mo, and some, sometyme my deare frendes, for whose sake I hate going into that countrey the more, who, parting out of England seruent in the loue of Christes doctrine, and well furnished with the feare of God, returned out of *Italie* worse transformed, than euer was any in *Circes* Court I know diuerse, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of *Italie*, not onely with worse maners, but also with lesse learning neither so willing to liue orderly, nor yet so hable to speake learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad And why? *Plato*, yt wise writer, and worthy traueler him selfe, telleth the cause why He went into *Sicilia*, a countrey, no higher *Italy* by site of place, thā *Italie* that is now, is like *Sicilia* that was thē, in all corrupt maners and licentiousnes of life *Plato* found in *Sicilia*, euery Citie full of vanitie, full of factions, euen as *Italie* is now And as *Homere*, like a learned Poete, doth seyne, that *Circes*, by pleasant inchantmētes, did turne men into beastes, some into Swine, some into Asses, some into Foxes, some into Wolues etc euen so *Plato*, like a wise Philosopher, doth plainlie declare, that pleasure, by licentious vanitie, that sweete and perillous poyson of all youth, doth ingender in all those, that yeld vp themselues to her, foure notorious properties

The first is  
 of wayne  
 pleasure

- { 1 ληθην
- { 2 δυσμαθιαν
- { 3 αφροσυνην
- { 4 ὕβριν

The first, forgetfulnes of all good thinges learned before  
 Causes the second, dulnes to receyue either learning or  
 why men honestie euer after the third, a mynde embracing

lightlie the worse opinion, and baren of discretion  
 to make trewe difference betwixt good and ill,  
 betwixt troth, and vanitie, the fourth, a proude  
 disdainfulnes of other good mē, in all honest  
 matters *Homer* and *Plato*, haue both one  
 meanyng, looke both to one end For, if a mā  
 inglutte himself with vanitie, or walter in filthi-  
 nes like a Swyne, all learnyng, all goodnes, is  
 sone forgotten Than, quicklie shall he becum  
 a dull Asse, to vnderstand either learnyng or  
 honestie. and yet shall he be as sutle as a Foxe,  
 in breedyng of mischief, in bringyng in misorder,  
 with a busie head, a discoursing tōg, and a factious harte, in  
 euery priuate affaire, in all matters of state, with this pretie  
 propertie, alwayes glad to commend the worse  
 partie, and euer ready to defend the falsel  
 opiniō And why? For, where will is giuē  
 from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone caryed from right  
 iudgement, to any fond opinion, in Religion, in Philosophie, or  
 any other kynde of learning The fourth fruite of vaine  
 pleasure, by *Homer* and *Platos* iudgement, is pride  
 in them selues, contempt of others, the very  
 badge of all those that serue in *Circes* Court The trewe  
 meenyng of both *Homer* and *Plato*, is plainlie declared in one  
 short sentence of the holy Prophet of God  
*Hieremie*, crying out of the vaine & vicious life  
 of the *Israelites* This people (sayth he) be  
 fooles and dulhedes to all goodnes, but sotle, cunning and  
 bolde, in any mischiefe &c

The true medicine against the inchantmentes of *Circes*,  
 the vanitie of licencious pleasure, the inticementes of all sinne,  
 is, in *Homere*, the herbe *Moly*, with the blacke roote, and white  
 floer, sower at the first, but sweete in the end which,  
*Hesiodus* termeth the study of vertue, hard and  
 irksome in the beginnyng, but in the end, easie  
 and pleasant And that, which is most to be  
 marueled at, the diuine Poete *Homere* sayth plainlie that this  
 medicine against sinne and vanitie, is not found  
 out by man, but giuen and taught by God And  
 for some one sake, that will haue delite to read

returne out  
 of Italie  
 lesse lear  
 ned and  
 worse ma  
 nered

*Homer* and  
*Plato* loy  
 ned and ex  
 pounded

A Swyne

An Asse

A Foxe

ἀποδοῦν,  
 Quid, et  
 vnde

ἕβρις

*Hieremias*  
 4 Cap

*Hes odus*  
 de v rtiute

*Homerus*  
 d unus  
 Poeta.

that sweete and Godlie Verse, I will recite the very wordes of *Homere* and also turne them into rude English metre

χαλεπὸν δὲ τ' ὀρύσσειν  
ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δυνάμει

In English thus

*No mortall mā, with sweat of browe, or toile of minde,  
But onely God, who can do all, that herbe dith finde*

*Plato* also, that diuine Philosopher, hath many Godly medicines agaynst the poyson of vayne pleasure, in many places, but specially in his Epistles to *Dionysius* the tyrant of

*Sicilie* yet agaynst those, that will nedes becom  
beastes, with seruyng of *Circes*, the Prophet

*David*, crieth most loude, *Nolite fieri sicut equus et  
malus* and by and by gueth the right medi-

cine, the trewe herbe *Moly*, *In camo & freno maxillas  
eorum constringe*, that is to say, let Gods grace be the bitte,  
let Gods feare be the bridle, to stay them from runnyng head-  
long into vice, and to turne them into the right way agayne

*David* in the second Psalme after, gueth the  
same medicine, but in these plainer wordes,

*Diuertere a malo, & fac bonum* But I am affraide, that ouer  
many of our trauelers into *Italie*, do not exchewe the way to  
*Circes* Court but go, and ryde, and runne, and flie thether,  
they make great hast to cum to her they make great sute to  
serue her yea, I could point out some with my finger, that  
neuer had gone out of England, but onelie to serue *Circes*, in  
*Italie* Vanitie and vice, and any licence to ill liuyng in  
England was counted stale and rude vnto them And so, beyng  
Mules and Horses before they went, returned verie Swyne and  
Asses home agayne yet euerie where verie Foxes with suttile  
and busie heades, and where they may, verie

wolues, with cruell malicious hartes A mer-  
uelous monster, which, for filthines of liuyng, for  
dulnes to learning him selfe, for wilnesse in  
dealing with others, for malice in hurting without  
cause, should carie at once in one bodie, the belie of a Swyne,  
the head of an Asse, the brayne of a Foxe, the wombe of  
a wolfe. If you thinke, we iudge amisse, and write to sore

A trewe  
Picture of  
a knight of  
*Circes*  
Court.

against you, heare, what the *Italian* sayth of the English man, what the master reporteth of the scholer who vittereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what learned by you, saying, *Englese Italianato, e un diabolo incarnato*, that is to say, you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum deuils in life and condition. This is not, the opinion of one, for some priuate spite, but the iudgement of all, in a common Prouerbe, which riseth, of that learnyng, and those maners, which you gather in *Italie* a good Scholehouse of wholesome doctrine and worthy Masters of commendable Scholers, where the Master had rather diffame hym selfe for hys teachyng, than not shame his Scholer for his learning. A good nature of the maister, and faire conditions of the scholers. And now chose you, you *Italian* English men, whether you will be angrie with vs, for calling you monsters, or with the *Italianes*, for callyng you deuils, or else with your owne selues, that take so much paines, and go so farre, to make your selues both. If some yet do not well vnderstand, what is an English man Italianated, I will plainlie tell him. He, that by liuing, & traueling in *Italie*, bringeth home into Engld out of *Italie*, the Religion, the learning, the pollicie, the experiēce, the maners of *Italie*. That is to say, for Religion, Papistrie or worse for learnyng, lesse commonly than they caried out with them for pollicie, a factious hart, a discoursing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters for experience, plentie of new mischieues neuer knowne in England before for maners, varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthy lyuing. These be the inchantementes of *Circes*, brought out of *Italie*, to marre mens maners in England much, by example of ill life, but more by preceptes of fonde bookes, of late translated out of *Italian* into English, sold in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners dedicated ouer boldlie to vertuous and honor-

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The	{	1 Religion	} gotten in <i>Italie</i>
		2 Learn ing	
		3 Pollicie	
		4 Experi ence	
		5 Maners	

*Italian*  
bokes trās  
lated into  
English

openly and boldly, to all states great and meane, yong and old, euery where

And thus yow see, how will intised to wantonnes, doth easelie allure the mynde to false opinions and how corrupt maners in liuinge, breede false iudgement in doctrine how sinne and fleshlines, bring forth sectes and heresies And therefore suffer not vaine bookes to breede vanitie in mens willes, if yow would haue Goddes trothe take roote in mens myndes

That Italian, that first inuented the Italian Prouerbe against our Englishe men Italianated, ment no more their vanitie in liuing, than their lewd opinion in Religion For, in calling them Deuiles, he carieth them cleane from God and yet he carieth them no farder, than they willinglie go themselues, that is, where they may freely say their mindes, to the open contempte of God and all godlines, both in liuing and doctrine

And how? I will expresse how, not by a Fable of *Homere*, nor by the Philosophie of *Plat*, but by a plaine troth of Goddes word, sensible vttered by *Dauid* thus Thies men, *abominabiles facti in studijs suis*, thinke verily, and singe gladlie the verse before, *Dixit insipiens in Corde suo, non est*  
*Psa. 14. Deus* that is to say, they geuing themselues vp to

vanitie, shakinge of the motions of Grace, driuing from them the feare of God, and running headlong into all sinne, first, lustelie contemne God, than scornefullie mocke his worde, and also spitefullie hate and hurte all well willers thereof Than they haue in more reuerence, the triumphes of *Petrarche* than the Genesis of *Moses* They make more accounte of *Tullies* offices, than *S Pauls* epistles of a tale in *Bocace*, than a storie of the Bible Than they counte as Fables, the holie misteries of Christian Religion They make Christ and his Gospell, onelie serue Ciuill pollicie Than neyther Religion cummeth amisse to them In tyme they be Promoters of both openlie in place againe mockers of both priuilie, as I wrote once in a rude ryme

*Now new, now olde, now both, now neither,  
 To serue the worldes court, they care not with whether*

For where they dare, in cumpanie where they like, they

boldlie laughe to scorne both protestant and Papist They care for no scripture They make no coute of generall counceils they contene the consent of the Chirch They passe for no Doctores They mocke the Pope They raile on *Luther* They allow neyther side They like none, but onelie themselves The marke they shote at, the ende they looke for, the heauen they desire, is onelie, their owne present pleasure, and priuate profit whereby, they plainlie declare, of whose schole, of what Religion they be that is, Epicures in liuing, and *atheoi* in doctrine this last worde, is no more vnkowne now to plaine Englishe men, than the Person was vnkowne somtyme in England, vntill som Englishe man tooke peines, to fetch that deuclish opinion out of Italie Thies men, thus Italianated abroad, can not abide our Godlie Italian Church at home they be not of that Parish, they be not of that felowshyp they like not y<sup>t</sup> preacher they heare not his sermons Excepte somtymes for copanie, they cum thither, to heare the Italian tonge naturally spoken, not to hear Gods doctrine trewly preached

The Ita  
li a Chirche  
in London

And yet, thies men, in matters of Diuinitie, openlie pretend a great knowledge, and haue priuate lie to them selues, a verie compendious vnderstanding of all, which neuertheles they will vtter when and where they liste And that is this All the misteries of *Moses*, the whole lawe and Cerimonties, the Psalmes and Prophetes, Christ and his Gospell, GOD and the Deuill, Heauen and Hell, Faith, Conscience, Sinne, Death, and all they shortlie wrap vp, they quickly expounde with this one halfe verse of *Horace*

*Credat Iudæus Appella*

Yet though in Italie they may freely be of no Religion, as they are in Englande in verie deede to, neuerthelesse returning home into England they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoeuer inwardlie, they laugh to scorne both And though, for their priuate matters they can follow, fawne, and flatter noble Personages, contrarie to them in all respectes, yet commonlie they allie themselves with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree together in three proper opinions In open contempte of Goddes worde in a secret securitie of sinne and in

Papistrie  
and imp e-  
tie agree in  
three opini  
ons.

amended, it were no great hurt, neither to them selues, nor to others

An other propertie of this our English *Italians* is, to be meruelous singular in all their matters Singular in knowledge, ignorant of nothyng So singular in wisdom (in their owne opinion) as scarce they counte the best Counsellor the Prince hath, comparable with them Common discourser of all matters busie searchers of most secret affaires open flatterers of great men priuie mislikers of good men Faire speakers, with smiling countenāces, and much curtesie openlie to all men Ready bakbiters, sore nippers, and spitefull reporters priuie of good men And beyng brought vp in *Italie*, in some free Citie, as all Cities be there where a man may freelic discourse against what he will, against whom he lust against any Prince, agaynst any gouernement, yea against God him selfe, and his whole Religion where he must be, either *Guelph* or *Gibline*, either *French* or *Spanisb* and alwayes compelled to be of some partie, of some faction, he shall neuer be compelled to be of any Religion And if he medle not ouer much with Christes true Religion, he shall haue free libertie to embrace all Religions, and becum, if he lust at once, without any let or punishment, Iewish, Turkish, Papish, and Deuillish

A yong Gentleman, thus bred vp in this goodly schole, to learne the next and readie way to sinne, to haue a busie head, a factious hart, a talkatiue tonge, fed with discoursing of factions led to contemne God and his Religion, shall cum home into England, but verie ill taught, either to be an honest man him self, a quiet subiect to his Prince, or willyng to serue God, vnder the obedience of trewe doctrine, or within the order of honest liuing

I know, none will be offended with this my generall writing, but onelie such, as finde them selues gilty priuatelie therein who shall haue good leaue to be offended with me, vntill they begin to amende them selues I touch not them that be good and I say to litle of them that be nought And so, though not enough for their deseruing, yet sufficientlie for this time, and more els when, if occasion so require

And thus farre haue I wandred from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, bicause

this whole taulke hath tended to the onelie aduauncement of  
trothe in Religion, and honestie of liuing and hath bene whole  
within the compasse of learning and good maners, the speciall  
pointes belonging in the right bringyng vp of youth

But to my matter, as I began, plainlie and simplie  
with my yong Scholer, so will I not leaue him,

God willing, vntill I haue brought him a per-

fite Scholer out of the Schole, and placed

him in the Vniuersitie, to becum a fitte

student, for Logicke and Rhetoricke

and so after to Phisicke, Law, or

Diuinitie, as aptnes of na-

ture, aduise of frendes, and

Gods disposition shall

lead him

*The ende of the first booke*



a bloodie desire to haue all taken away, by sword or burnng,  
*Pygmal* that be not of their faction They that do  
*Machiavel* read, with indifferent iudgement, *Pygmal* and  
*Iul* *Machiavel*, two indifferent Patriarches of thies  
 two Religions, do know full well that I say trewe

Ye see, what manners and doctrine, our Englishe men fetch  
 out of Italie For finding no other there, they can bring no  
 other hither And therefore, manie godlie and  
 Wise and honest tra excellent learned Englishe men, not manie yeares  
 uelers. ago, did make a better choice, whan open crueltie  
 draue them out of this contrie, to place themselues there, where  
*Germanie* Christes doctrine, the feare of God, punishment  
 of sinne, and discipline of honestie, were had in  
 speciall regarde.

I was once in Italie my selfe but I thanke God, my  
 abode there, was but ix. dayes And yet I sawe  
*Venice* in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to  
 sinne, than euer I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in  
*London* ix yeare I sawe, it was there, as free to sinne,  
 not onelie without all punishment, but also  
 without any mans marking, as it is free in the Citie of London,  
 to chose, without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo  
 or pantocle. And good cause why For being vnlike in troth  
 of Religion, they must nedes be vnlike in honestie of liuing  
*Service of* For blessed be Christ, in our Citie of London,  
*God in* commonlie the commandementes of God, be more  
*England* diligentlie taught, and the seruice of God more  
 reuerentlie vsed, and that daylie in many priuate mens houses,  
*Service of* than they be in Itale once a weeke in their  
*God in I* common Churches where, masking Ceremonies,  
*talie.* to delite the eye, and vaine soundes, to please  
 the eare, do quite thrust out of the Churches, all seruice of  
 God in spirit and troth Yea, the Lord Maior  
*The Lord* of London, being but a Ciuill officer, is com  
*Maior of* monlie for his tyme, more diligent, in punishing  
*London* sinne, the bent enemy against God and good order, than all  
 the bloodie Inquisitors in Italie be in seauen yeare  
*The In* For, their care and charge is, not to punish  
*quisitors in* sinne, not to amend manners, not to purge  
*Italie* doctrine, but onelie to watch and ouersee that Christes trewe

Religion yet no sure footing, where the Pope hath any Jurisdiction I learned, when I was at *Venice*, that there it is counted good pollicie, when there be foure or fife brethren of one familie, one, onelie to marie & An ungod  
all the rest, to waulter, with as litle shame, in le pollicie open lecherie, as Swyne do here in the common myre Yea, there be as fayre houses of Religion, as great prouision, as diligent officers, to kepe vp this misorder, as Bridewell is, and all the Masters there, to kepe downe misorder And therefore, if the Pope himselfe, do not onelie graunt pardons to further thies wicked purposes abroad in *Italie*, but also (although this present Pope, in the beginning, made som shewe of misliking thereof) assigne both meede and merite to the maintenance of stewes and brothelhouses at home in *Rome*, than let wise men thinke *Italie* a safe place for holsom doctrine, and godlie manners, and a fitte schole for yong gentlemen of *England* to be brought vp in

Our *Italians* bring home with them other faultes from *Italie*, though not so great as this of Religion, yet a great deale greater, thā many good men can well beare For commonlie they cum home, common contemners of marriage and readie persuaders of all other to the same Contempt  
not because they loue virginite, nor yet because of marriage. they hate prettie yong virgines, but, being free in *Italie*, to go whither so euer lust will cary them, they do not like, that lawe and honestie should be soch a barre to their like libertie at home in *England* And yet they be, the greatest makers of loue, the daylie daliers, with such pleasant wordes, with such smilyng and secret countenances, with such signes, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost, before they were purposed to be made, with bargaines of wearing colours, floures, and herbes, to breede occasion of offer meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that &c. And although I haue seene some, innocent of all ill, and stayde in all honestie, that haue vsed these thinges without all harme, without all suspicion of harme, yet these knackes were brought first into *England* by them, that learned th<sup>e</sup> before in *Italie* in *Circes* Court and how Courtlie curtesses so euer they be counted now, yet, if the meaning and maners of some that do vse them, were somewhat

a bloodie desire to haue all taken away, by sword or burning,  
*Pygius* that be not of their faction They that do  
*Machiame* read, with indifferent iudgement, *Pygius* and  
*Ius* *Machiauel*, two indifferent Patriarches of thies  
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 to chose, without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo  
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 For blessed be Christ, in our Citie of London,  
 Service of God in commonlie the commandementes of God, be more  
 England diligentlie taught, and the seruice of God more  
 reuerentlie vsed, and that daylie in many priuate mens houses,  
 Service of God in Italie. than they be in Italie once a weeke in the r  
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 The Inquisitors in Italie. For, their care and charge is, not to punish  
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 doctrine, but onelie to watch and ouersee that Christes trewe

marking diligently, and writyng orderlie out his six pointes. And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrday, to chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than giue it him to translate into Latin againe: allowyng him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement. Here his witte shalbe new set on worke: his iudgement, for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure reteynyng, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: & here, how much he hath profitted, shall plainly appeare. Whan he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*: lay them together: compare the one with the other: commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply: for, of such missings, iently admonished of, proceedeth glad & good heed taking: of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfinesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master: for here, shall all the hard pointes of *Grämer*, both easely and surelie be learned vp: which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarce can reach vnto them. I remember, whan I was yong, in the North, they went to the Grammer schole, litle children: they came from thence great lubbers. alwayes learning, and litle profiting: learning without booke, euery thing, vnderstādyng within the booke, litle or nothing: Their whole knowledge, by learning without the booke, was tied onely to their tong & lips, and neuer ascended vp to the braine & head, and therefore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe. They were, as men, alwayes goyng, but euer out of the way. and why? For their whole labor, or rather great toyle without order, was euen vaine idlenesse without profit. In deed, they tooke great paynes about learning but employed small labour in learning: Whan by this way prescribed in this booke, being streight, plaine, & easie, the scholer is alwayes laboring with pleasure, and euer going right on forward with  
t. Alwayes laboring I say, for, or he haue cōstrued

20 *The second booke.*

After that your scholer, as I sayd before, shall cum in deede, first, to a readie perfittnes in translating, than, to a ripe and skilfull choice in markyng out hys sixe pointes, as,

- |   |   |                   |
|---|---|-------------------|
| { | 1 | <i>Proprium</i>   |
|   | 2 | <i>Translatum</i> |
|   | 3 | <i>Synonymum</i>  |
|   | 4 | <i>Contrarium</i> |
|   | 5 | <i>Diuersum</i>   |
|   | 6 | <i>Phrases</i>    |

Than take this order with him Read dayly vnto him,  
 some booke of *Tullie*, as the third booke of  
*Cicero* Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, *de Amicitia*,  
*de Senectute*, or that excellent Epistle conteinyng almost the  
*Terentius* whole first booke *ad Q fra* some Comedie of  
*Plautus* *Terence* or *Plautus* but in *Plautus*, skilfull choice  
 must be vsed by the master, to traine his Scholler  
 to a iudgement, in cutting out perfitelie ouer old and vnproper  
*Iul Caesar* wordes *Cæs Commentaries* are to be read with  
 all curiositie, in specially without all exception to  
 be made, either by frende or foe, is seene, the vnspotted  
 proprietie of the Lat n tong, euen when it was, as the *Grecians*  
 say, in *ακμῇ* that is, at the hiest pitch of all perfittnesse or  
*T Liv us* some Orations of *T Livius*, such as be both longest  
 and plainest

These bookes, I would haue him read now, a good deale at  
 euery lecture for he shall not now vse dalie translation, but  
 onely construe againe, and parse, where ye suspect, is any nede  
 yet, let him not omitte in these bookes, his former exercise, in

marking diligently, and writyng orderlie out his six pointes And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrday, to chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than giue it him to translate into Latin againe allowyng him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement Here his witte shalbe new set on worke his iudgement, for right choice, trewlie tried his memorie, for sure reteyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke & here, how much he hath profitted, shall plainly appeare Whan he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie* lay them together compare the one with the other commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply for, of such missings, iently admonished of, proceedeth glad & good heed taking of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfittnesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master for here, shall all the hard pointes of Grämer, both easely and surelie be learned vp which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarce can reach vnto them I remember, whan I was yong, in the North, they went to the Grammer schole, litle children they came from thence great lubbers alwayes learning, and litle profityng learning without booke, euery thing, vnderstandyng within the booke, litle or nothing Their whole knowledge, by learning without the booke, was tied onely to their tong & lips, and neuer ascēded vp to the braine & head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe They were, as men, alwayes goyng, but euer out of the way and why? For their whole labor, or rather great toyle without order, was euen vaine idlenesse without profit In deed, they tooke great paynes about learning but employed small labour in learning Whan by this way prescribed in this booke, being streight, plaine, & easie, the scholer is alwayes laboring with pleasure, and euer going right on forward with profit Alwayes laboring I say, for, or he haue cōstrued

parced, twise translated ouer by good aduiseemet, marked out his six pointes by skilfull iudgement, he shall haue necessarie occasion, to read ouer euery lecture a dosen tymes, at the least Which, bicause he shall do alwayes in order, he shall do it alwayes with pleasure And pleasure allureth loue loue hath lust to labor labor alwayes ob'eineth his purpose, as most trewly, both *Aristotle* in his *Rhetoncke* & *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* do teach, saying, *πάν γὰρ ἐκπονῶμενον ἀλίσκε* *et cet* & this oft reading, is the verie right following, of that good Counsell, which *Plinie* doth geue to his frende *Fuscus*, saying, *Multum, non multa* But to my purpose againe

Whan, by this diligent and spedie reading ouer, those forenamed good bokes of *Tullie*, *Terence*, *Cæsar*, and *Luue*, and by this second kinde of translating out of your English, tyme shall breed skill, and vse shall bring perfection, than ye may trie, if you will, your scholer, with the third kinde of translation although the two first wayes, by myne opinion, be, not onelie sufficient of them selues, but also surer, both for the Masters teaching, and scholers learnyng, than this third way is Which is thus Write you in English, some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other frende, naturallie, according to the disposition of the child, or some tale, or fable, or plaine narration, according as *Aphibanius* beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin againe, abiding in soch place, where no other scholer may prompe him But yet, vse you your selfe soch discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and sentences, of his former learning and reading And now take heede, lest your scholer do not better in some point, than you your selfe, except ye haue bene diligentlie exercised in these kindes of translating before

I had once a prose hereof, tried by good experience, by a deare frende of myne, whan I came first from Cambrige, to serue the Queenes Maiestie, than Ladie *Elizabeth*, lying at worthie Syr *Ant Denys* in Cheston *John Whitnye*, a yong gentleman, was my bedfeloe, who willyng by good nature and prouoked by mine aduise, began to learne the Latin tong, after the order declared in this booke We began after Christmas I read vnto him *Tullie de Amicitia*, which he did euerie day

twise translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin agayne About S Laurence tyde after, to proue how he profitted, I did chose out *Torquatus* taulke *de Amicitia*, in the later end of the first booke *de finib* bicause that place was, the same in matter, like in wordes and phrases, nigh to the forme and facion of sentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitia* I did translate it my selfe into plaine English, and gaue it him to turne into Latin Which he did, so choislie, so orderlie, so without any great misse in the hardest pointes of Grammer, that some, in seuen yeare in Grammer scholes, yea, & some in the Vniuersities to, can not do halfe so well This worthie yong Ientleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and speciallie to that most noble Ladie, now Queene *Elizabeth* her selfe, departed within few dayes, out of this world

And if in any cause, a man may without offence of God speake somewhat vngodlie, surely, it was some grief vnto me, to see him hie so hastlie to God, as he did A Court, full of soch yong Ientlemen, were rather a Paradise than a Court vpon earth And though I had neuer Poeticall head, to make any verse, in any tong, yet either loue, or sorow, or both, did wring out of me than, certaine carefull thoughtes of my good will towardes him, which in my murning for him, fell forth, more by chance, than either by skill or vse, into this kinde of disorderlie meter

Myne owne Iohn *Whitney*, now farewell, now death doth parte vs  
twaine,

No death, but parting for a while, whom life shall ioine agayne  
Therefore my hart cease sighes and sobbes, cease sorowes seede to sow,  
Wherof no gaine, but greater grief, and hurtfull care may grow  
Yet, whan I thinke vpon soch giftes of grace as God him lent,  
My losse, his gaine, I must a while, with ioyfull teares lament  
Yong yeares to yelde soch frute in Court, where seede of vice is sowne,  
Is sometime read, in some place seene, amogst vs seldom knowne  
His life he ledde, Christes lore to learne, with will to worke the  
same

He read to know, and knew to liue, and liued to praisse his name  
So fast to frende, so foe to few, so good to euery weight,  
I may well wishe, but scarcelis hope, agayne to haue in sight



*The greater joye his life to me, his death the greater payne.  
 His life in Christ is surelie set, doth glad my hearte agayne  
 His life is good, his death better, do mingle wirth with care,  
 My spirit with joye, my flesh with grief, is deare a friend to spare  
 Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leaues vs ill,  
 That we should mend our surfull life, in life to tary still  
 Thus, we well left, be better rest, in heauen to take his place,  
 That by like life, and death, at last, we may obtaine like grace  
 Myne oune Iohn W'ltieny agayne faireuell, a while thus parte in  
 tuaine,  
 Whom payne doth part in earth, in heauen great joye shall ioyne  
 agayne*

In this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare, by whose authoritie I am led, and by what reason I am moued, to thinke, that this way of duple translation out of one tong into an other, in either onelie, or at least chiefly, to be exercised, speciallie of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tong

There be six wayes appointed by the best learned men, for the learning of tonges, and encrease of eloquence, as

- |   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Translatio linguarum</i> |
| 2 | <i>Paraphrasis</i>          |
| 3 | <i>Metaphrasis</i>          |
| 4 | <i>Epistome</i>             |
| 5 | <i>Imitatio</i>             |
| 6 | <i>Declamatio</i>           |

All theis be vsed, and commended, but in order, and for respectes as person, habilitie, place, and tyme shall require The five last, be fitter, for the Master, than the scholer for men, than for children for the vniuersities, rather than for Grammer scholes yet neuerthelesse, which is, fittest in mine opinion, for our schole, and which is, either wholie to be refused, or partlie to be vsed for our purpose, I will, by good authoritie, and some reason, I trust perticularlie of euerie one, and largelie enough of them all, declare orderlie vnto you.

¶ *Translatio Linguarum.*

Translation, is easie in the beginning for the scholer, and bringeth also much learning and great iudgement to the Master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth most common, for all your constructions in Grammer scholes, be nothing els but translations but because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commoditie, and because also they lacke the daily use of writing, which is the onely thing that breedeth deepe roote, both in y<sup>e</sup> witte, for good vnderstanding, and in y<sup>e</sup> memorie, for sure keeping of all that is learned. Most commendable also, & that by y<sup>e</sup> iudgemēt of all authors, which intreate of theis exercises. *Tullie* in the person of *L. Crassus*, whom he calleth *de Or* maketh his example of eloquence and trewe iudgement in learning, doth, not onely praise specially, and chose this way of translation for a yong man, but doth also discommend and refuse his owne former wont, in exercising *Paraphrasin* & *Metaphrasin*. *Paraphrasin* is, to take some eloquent Oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and expresse it with other wordes. *Metaphrasin* is, to take some notable place out of a good Poete, and turn the same sens into meter, or into other wordes in Prose. *Crassus*, or rather *Tullie*, doth mislike both these wayes, because the Author, either Orator or Poete, had chosen out before, the fittest wordes and aptest composition for that matter, and so he, in seeking other, was driuen to use the worse.

*Quintilian* also preferreth translation before all other exercises yet hauing a lust, to dissent, from *Quint x* *Tullie* (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his *Rhetoricke* ouer aduisedlie, and that rather of an enuious minde, than of any iust cause) doth greatlie commend *Paraphrasin*, crossing spitefullie *Tullies* iudgement in refusing the same and so do *Ramus* and *Talæus* euen at this day in France to. But such singularitie, in dissenting from the best mens iudgementes, in liking onely their owne opinions, is much misliked of all them, that ioyne with learning, discretion, and wisdom. For he, that can neither like *Aristotle* in Logicke and Philosophie, nor *Tullie* in *Rhetoricke* and

*The greater joye his life to me, his death the greater payre  
 His life in Christ is iurelie set, d' th glad my hearte agayne  
 His life is good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care,  
 My spirit with joye, my flesh with grief, is deare a friend to spare  
 Thus God the go' l, while they be good, d' th take, and leaues vs all,  
 That we sh' uld n' end our unfull life, in life to tary still  
 Thus, we well left, be better rest, in heauen to take his place,  
 That by like life, an' death, at last, we may obtaine like grace  
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aptest wordes, the right framing of wordes and sentences, cumlines of figures and formes, fitte for euerie matter, and proper for euerie tong, but that which is greater also, in marking dayly, and folowing diligentlie thus, the steppes of the best Autors, like inuention of Argumentes, like order in disposition, like vtterance in Elocution, is easelie gathered vp whereby your scholer shall be brought not onelie to like eloquence, but also, to all trewe vnderstanding and right iudgement, both for writing and speaking And where *Dionys Halicarnassæus* hath written two excellent bookes, the one, *de delectu optimorum verborum*, the which, I feare, is lost, the other, of the right framing of wordes and sentences, which doth remaine yet in Greeke, to the great proffet of all them, that trewlie studie for eloquence, yet this waie of double translating, shall bring the whole proffet of both these bookes to a diliget scholer, and that easelie and pleasantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt composition of sentences And by theis authorities and reasons am I moued to thinke, this waie of double translating, either onelie or chieflie, to be fittest, for the spedy and perfit atteyning of any tong And for spedy atteyning I durst venture a good wager, if a scholer, in whom is aptnes, loue, diligence, & constancie, would but translate, after this sorte, one litle booke in *Tullie*, as *de senectute*, with two Epistles, the first *ad Q. fra* the other *ad lentulum*, the last saue one, in the first booke, that scholer, I say, should cum to a better knowledge in the Latin tong, thā the most part do, that spend foure or fise yeares, in tossing all the rules of Grammer in common scholes In deede this one booke with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to affourde all Latin wordes (which is not necessarie for a yong scholer to know) but it is able to furnishe him fully, for all pointes of Grammer, with the right placing ordering, & vse of wordes in all kinde of matter And why not? for it is read, that *Dion Prussæus*, that wise Philosopher, & excellet orator of all his tyme, did cum to the great learning & vtterance that was in him, by reading and folowing onelie two bookes, *Phædon Platonis*, and *Dem ithenes* most notable oration *περί ταραπρεσ βειας* And a better, and nerer example herein, may be, our most noble Queene *Elizabeth*, who neuer toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe, but onely by this double translating of

Eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough presume, by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters that is either in Religion, to haue a dissentious head, or in the common wealth, to haue a factious hart as I knew one a student in Cambrige, who, for a singularitie, began first to dissent, in the scholes, from *Aristotle*, and sone after became a peruerse *Arrian*, against Christ and all true Religion and studied diligentlie *Origene*, *Basilus*, and *S Hierome*, onelie to gleane out of their workes, the pernicious heresies of *Celsus*, *Lunsmius*, and *Heluidius*, whereby the Church of Christ, was so poysoned withall

But to leaue these hye pointes of diuinitie, surelie, in this quiet and harmeles controuersie, for the liking, or misliking of *Paraphrasis* for a yong scholer, euen as far, as *Tullie* goeth beyond *Quintilian*, *Ramus*, and *Talæus*, in perfite Eloquence,

\* *Plinius Secundus* euen so moch, by myne opinion, cum they behinde *Tullie*, for trew iudgement in teaching the same

\* *Plinius Secundus*, a wise Senator, of great experiece, excellentlie learned him selfe, a liberall Patrone of learned men, and the purest writer, in myne opinion, of all his age, I except not *Suetonius*, his two scholemasters *Quintilian* and *Tacitus*, nor yet his most excellent learned Vncle, the Elder *Plinius*, doth expresse in an Epistle to his frende

Epist lib 7. *Fuscus*, many good wayes for order in studie  
Epist. 9 but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest and bicause his wordes be notable, I will recite them

*Vtile in primis, ut multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, & ex Latino vertere in Græcum Quo genere exercitationis, proprietas splendorq; verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia & explicandi vis colligitur Præterea, imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inueniendi paratur & quæ legentem, fessellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt Intelligentia ex hoc, & iudicium acquiritur*

Ye perceiue, how *Plinie* teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned, easely, sensible, by litle and litle, not onelie all the hard congruities of Grammer, the choice of

aptest wordes, the right framing of wordes and sentences, cumlines of figures and formes, fitte for euerie matter, and proper for euerie tong, but that which is greater also, in marking dayly, and folowing diligentlie thus, the steppes of the best Autors, like inuention of Argumentes, like order in disposition, like vtterance in Elocution, is easelie gathered vp whereby your scholer shall be brought not onelie to like eloquence, but also, to all trewe vnderstanding and right iudgement, both for writing and speaking And where *Dionys Halicarnassæus* hath written two excellent bookes, the one, *de delectu optimorum verborum*, the which, I feare, is lost, the other, of the right framing of wordes and sentences, which doth remaine yet in Greeke, to the great proffet of all them, that trewhie studie for eloquence, yet this waie of double translating, shall bring the whole proffet of both these bookes to a diliget scholer, and that easelie and pleasantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt composition of sentences And by theis authorities and reasons am I moued to thinke, this waie of double translating, either onelie or chieflie, to be fittest, for the spedy and perfit atteyning of any tong And for spedy atteyning, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholer, in whom is aptnes, loue, diligence, & constancie, would but translate, after this sorte, one litle booke in *Tullie*, as *de senectute*, with two Epistles, the first *ad Q. fratrem* the other *ad lentulum*, the last saue one, in the first booke, that scholer, I say, should cum to a better knowledge in the Latin tong, thā the most part do, that spend foure or fve yeares, in tossing all the rules of Grammer in common scholes In deede this one booke with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to affourde all Latin wordes (which is not necessarie for a yong scholer to know) but it is able to furnishe him fully, for all pointes of Grammer, with the right placing ordering, & vse of wordes in all kinde of matter And why not? for it is read, that *Dion Prussæus*, that wise Philosopher, & excellēt orator of all his tyme, did cum to the great learning & vtterance that was in him, by reading and folowing onelie two bookes, *Phædon Platonis*, and *Demosthenes* most notable oration *περί παραρρησιας* And a better, and nerer example herein, may be, our most noble Queene *Elizabeth*, who neuer toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe, but onely by this double translating of

*Demosthenes* and *Isocrates* daile without missing euerie forenone, and likewise som part of *Tullie* euery afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch a perfite vnderstanding in both the tonges, and to soch a readie vtterance of the latin, and that wyth soch a iudgement, as they be fewe in number in both the vniuersities, or els where in England, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her Maiestie. And to conclude in a short rowme, the commodities of double translation, surelie the mynde by daile marking, first, the cause and matter: than, the wordes and phrases: next, the order and composition: after the reason and argumentes: than the formes and figures of both the tonges: lastelic, the measure and compas of euerie sentence, must nedes, by litle and litle drawe vnto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth vse, which is red.

And thus much for double translation.

### *Paraphrasis.*

*Paraphrasis*, the second point, is not onelie to expresse at  
 Lib x                    large with moe wordes, but to strue and contend  
                              (as *Quintilian* saith) to translate the best latin  
 authors, into other latin wordes, as many or thereabouts.

This waie of exercise was used first by *C. Grabe*, and taken vp for a while, by *L. Crassus*, but sone after, vpon dewe profe thereof, reiected iustlie by *Crassus* and *Cicero*: yet allowed and made sterling agayne by *M. Quintilian* neuerthelesse, shortlie after, by better assaye, disallowed of his owne scholer *Plinius Secundus*, who termeth it rightlie thus *Audax contentis*. It is a bold comparison in deede, to thinke to say better, than that is best. Soch turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a faire sweete flagon of siluer, into a foule mustie bottell of ledder or, to turne pure gold and siluer, into foule brasse and copper.

Soch kinde of *Paraphrasis*, in turning, chopping, and changing, the best to worse, either in the mynte or scholes, (though *M. Brotke* and *Quintilian* both say the contrary) is moch misliked of the best and wisest men. I can better allow an other kinde of *Paraphrasis*, to turne rude and barbarus, into proper and eloquent which neuerthelesse is an exercise, not fitte for a scholer, but for a perfite master, who in plentie hath

good choise, in copie hath right iudgement, and grounded skill, as did appeare to be in *Sebastian Castalia*, in translating *Kemppes* booke *de Imitando Christo*

But to folow *Quintilianus* aduise for *Paraphrasis*, were euen to take paine, to seeke the worse and fowler way, whan the plaine and fairer is occupied before your eyes

The olde and best authors that euer wrote, were content if occasion required to speake twise of one matter, not to change the wordes, but ῥητῶς, that is, worde for worde to expresse it againe For they thought, that a matter, well expressed with fitte wordes and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their selues, they thought it would also be well allowed of others

A scholemaster (soch one as I require) knoweth that I say trewe

He readeth in *Homer*, almost in euerie booke, and speciallie in *Secundo et nono Iliados*, not onelie som verses, but whole leaues, not to be altered with new, but to be vttered with the old selfe same wordes

*Homerus*

IX {<sup>2</sup>  
9

He knoweth, that *Xenophon*, writing twise of *Agesslaus*, once in his life, againe in the historie of the Greekes, in one matter, kepeth alwayes the selfe same wordes He doth the like, speaking of *Socrates*, both in the beginning of his Apologie and in the last ende of ἀπομνημονεύματων

*Xenopho*

*Demosthenes* also in 4 *Philippica*, doth borow his owne wordes vttered before in his oration *de Chersoneso*

*Demosthenes*

He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations, against *Androton* and *Timocrates*

In latin also, *Cicero* in som places, and *Virgil* in mo, do repeate one matter, with the selfe same wordes

*Cicero*

*Virgilius*

Thies excellent authors, did thus, not for lacke of wordes, but by iudgement and skill whatsoeuer, other, more curious, and lesse skilfull, do thinke, write, and do

*Paraphrasis* neuerthelesse hath good place in learning, but not, by myne opinion, for any scholer, but is onelie to be left to a perfite Master, eyther to expound openlie a good author withall, or to compare priuatelie, for his owne exercise, how some notable place of an excellent author, may be vttered with



other fitte wordes But if ye alter also, the composition, forme, and order than that is not *Paraphrasis*, but *Imitatio*, as I will fullie declare in fitter place

The scholer shall winne nothing by *Paraphrasis*, but onelie, if we may beleue *Tullie*, to choose worse wordes, to place them out of order, to feare ouermoch the iudgement of the master, to mislike ouermuch the hardnes of learning, and by vse, to gather vp faultes, which hardlie will be left of againe

The mister in teaching it, shall rather encrease hys owne labor, than his scholers proffet for when the scholer shall bring vnto his master a peece of *Tullie* or *Cæsar* turned into other latin, then must the master cum to *Quintilians* goodlie lesson de *Emendatione*, which, (as he saith) is the most profitable part of teaching, but not in myne opinion, and namelie for youthe in Grammer scholes For the master nowe taketh double paynes first, to marke what is amisse againe, to inuent what may be sayd better And here perchance, a verie good master may easelie both deceiue himselfe, and lead his scholer into error

It requireth greater learning, and deeper iudgement, than is to be hoped for at any scholemasters hand that is, to be able alwaies learnedlie and perfitelie

{ *Mutare quod ineptum est*  
 { *Transmutare quod peruersum est*  
 { *Replere quod deest,*  
 { *Detrahere quod obest*  
 { *Expungere quod inane est*

And that, which requireth more skill, and deaper consideration

{ *Premere tumentia*  
 { *Extollere humilia*  
 { *Astringere luxuriantia*  
 { *Componere dissoluta*

The master may here onelie stumble, and perchance faull in teaching, to the marring and mayning of the Scholer in learning, whan it is a matter, of moch readyng, of great learning, and tried iudgement, to make trewe difference betwixt

*Sublime, et Tumidum*  
*Grande, et immodicum*  
*Dicorum, et ineptum*  
*Perfektum, et nimium*

Some men of our time, counted perfit Maisters of eloquence, in their owne opinion the best, in other mens iudgements very good, as *Omphalius* euerie where, *Sadletus* in many places, yea also my frende *Omnus*, namelic in his Epistle to the Queene & in his whole booke *de Iusticia*, haue so ouer reached the selues, in making trew difference in the poyntes afore rehearsed, as though they had bene brought vp in some schole in *Aua*, to learne to decline rather then in *Aleut* with *Platz*, *Aristotle*, and *Demosthenes*, (from whence *Tullie* fetched his eloquence) to vnderstand, what in euerie matter, to be spoken or written on, is, in verie deepe, *Nimum*, *Satis*, *Parum*, that is for to say, to all considerations, *Dicorum*, which, as it is the hardest point, in all learning, so is it the fairest and onelic marke, that scholers, in all their studie, must alwayes shote at, if they purpose an other day to be, either sounde in Religion, or wise and discrete in any vocation of the common wealth

Agayne, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learning and iudgement for a Scholemaster, to make trewe difference betwixt

*Humile & depressum*  
*Lene & remissum*  
*Siccum & aridum*  
*Exile & macrum*  
*Inaffektatum & neglectum*

In these poyntes, some, louing *Melancthon* well, as he was well worthie, but yet not considering well nor wiselie, how he of nature, and all his life and studie by iudgement was wholly spent in *genere Disciplinabili*, that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainlie and aptlie schole matters, and therefore employed thereunto a fitte, sensible, and caulme kinde of speaking and writing, some I say, with very well louyng, but not with verie well weying *Melancthon*s domges, do frame them selues a style, cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be neuer so warme & earnest, not moch vnlike vnto one, that had a pleasure, in a roughe, raynie, winter

*natura*, which is writtē *D rice*, and turne it into soch Greeke, as *Plats* vseth in other workes. The booke, is but two leaues and the labor wold be, but two weekes. but sure e the profit, for eas e vnderstanding, and trewe writing the Greeke to ige, wold conseruaile wyth the tolc, that som men taketh, in otherwise coldlie read ng that tonge, two yeares.

And yet, for the latin tonge, and for the exercise of *Paraphraus*, in those places of latin, that can not be bettered, if some yong man, excellent of witte, corrag ous in will, lusie of nature, and desirous to contend euen with the best latin, to better it, if he can, sure e I commend his forwardnesse, and for his better instruction therein, I will set besyde him, as noable an example of *Paraphraus*, as is in Record of learning. (scere h m selfe, doth contend, in two sondne places, to expresse one matter, with diuerse wordes. and that is *Paraphraus*, saith *Quintillian*. The matter I suppose, is taken out of *Panætius*. and therefore being translated out of Greeke at diuers times, is vttered for his purpose, with diuers wordes and formes. which kinde of exercise, for perfite learned men, is verie profitable.

## 2 De Finib

a. *Homo enim Rationem habet a natura menti datam quæ, & causas rerum et consecutiones videt, & similitudines, transfert, & dissimilia coniungit, & cum præsentibus futura cõpulat, omnemq; complectitur vitæ consequentis statum.* b. *Eademq; ratio facit hominem hominum appetentem, cumq; his, natura, & sermone in usu congruentem. et præfectus a caritate domesticorum ac suorum, currat longius, & se implicet, primò Ciuu, deinde omnium mortalium societatis. utq; non sibi soli se natu meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, ut exigua pars ipsi relinquatur.* c. *Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini vers inueniendi, quod facillimè apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, scire auctus, &c*

## 1 Officiorum

a. *Homo autem, qui rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, & causas rerum videt, earumq; progressus, et quas antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines, comparat, rebusq; præsentibus adiungit, atq; annectit futuras, facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad*

eamque degendam præparat res necessarias b Eademq natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, & ad Orationis, & ad vitæ societatem ingeneratq imprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt, impellitq ut hominum cætus & celebrari inter se, & sibi obediri velit, ob easq causas student parare ea, quæ suppeditent ad cultum & ad victum, nec sibi soli, sed coniugi, liberis, cæterisq quos charos habeat, tuerisq debeat c Quæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, & maiores ad rem gerendam facit imprimis hominis est propria veri inquisitio atq inuestigatio ita cum sumis necessarijs negocijs curisq vacui, tum auemus aliquid videre, audire, ad discere, cognitionemq rerum mirabilium &c

The conference of these two places, conteinyng so excellent a peece of learning, as this is, expressed by so worthy a witte, as *Tullies* was, must needes bring great pleasure and proffit to him, that maketh trew counte, of learning and honestie But if we had the *Greke* Author, the first Patterne of all, and therby to see, how *Tullies* witte did worke at diuerse tymes, how, out of one excellent Image, might be framed two other, one in face and fauor, but somewhat differing in forme, figure, and color, surliche, such a peece of workemanship compared with the Paterne it selfe, would better please the ease of honest, wise, and learned myndes, tha two of the fairest *Venusses*, that euer *Apelles* made

And thus moch, for all kinde of *Paraphrasis*, fitte or vnfit, for Scholers or other, as I am led to thinke, not onelie, by mine owne experience, but chiefly by the authoritie & iudgement of those, whom I my selfe would gladliest folow, and do counsell all myne to do the same not contending with any other, that will otherwise either thinke or do

### Metaphrasis

This kinde of exercise is all one with *Paraphrasis*, saue it is out of verse, either into prose, or into some other kinde of meter or els, out of prose into verse, which was *Socrates* exercise and pastime (as *Plato* reporteth) *Plato* in *Phædone*. when he was in prison, to translate *Æsopes Fabules* into verse *Quintilian* doth greatlie praise also this exercise but because *Tullie* doth disallow it in yong men, by myne opinion, it were not well to vse it in Grammer Scholes, euen

using this exercise, he had not deserved the name of *Tragicus Orator*, who should rather haue studied to expresse *virtutem*, than *furorē Poetæ*, how good so euer he was, whom he did follow

And therefore would I haue our Scholemaster wey well together *Homer* and *Plat*, and marke diligētie these foure pointes, what is kept what is added what is left out what is changed, either, in choise of wordes, or forme of sentences which foure pointes, be the right tooles, to handle like a worke man, this kinde of worke as our Scholer shall better vnderstand, when he hath bene a good while in the Vniuersitie to which tyme and place, I chiefly remitte this kinde of exercise

And bicause I euer thought examples to be the best kinde of teaching, I will recite a golden sentēce out of that Poete, which is next vnto *Homer*, not onelie in tyme, but also in worthines which hath bene a paterne for many worthie wittes to follow, by this kind of *Metaphras*, but I will content my selfe, with foure workemen, two in *Greek*, and two in *Latin*, soch, as in both the tonges, wiser & worthier, can not be looked for Surelie, no stone set in gold by most cunning workemē, is in deed, if right counte be made, more worthie the looking on, than this golden sentence diuerslie wrought vpon, by soch foure excellent Masters

*Hesiodus* 2

- 1 οὗτος μὲν παναριστοῦ, ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα βοήσῃ  
φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμεινω
- 2 εὐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνους ὃς εὖ εἰποντι πιθῆται
- 3 ὃς δὲ κε μὴτ' αὐτοῖς ἰοεῖν μὴτ' ἄλλου ἀκουῶν  
ἐν θυμῷ βαλλῆται ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρηὶος ἀνὴρ

¶ Thus rudel e turned into  
base English

- 1 That man in wisdom passeth all,  
to know the best who hath a beed
- 2 And meetlie wise ecke counted shall,  
who yeildes him selfe to wise mens read
- 3 Who hath no witte, nor none will heare,  
amongst all fooles the bell may beare

*Sophocles in Antigone*

- 1 Φήμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολυ,  
 Φῦλαι τὸν ἄνδρα παντ' ἐπιστήμης τλέων  
 2 Εἰ δ' οὖν (φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ ταύτη ῥέπειν)  
 Καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ καλον το μανθαιειν

Marke the wisdom of *Sophocles*, in leauyng out the last sentence, because it was not cumbe for the sonne to vse it to his father

¶ *D Basilus in his Exhortation to youth*

Μέμνησθε τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὃς φησι, ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' εαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα 2 Ἐσθλον δὲ κακεῖνον τον τοῖς, παρ' ἑτερων ὑποδειχεῖσιν ἐπόμενον 3 τον δὲ πρὸς οὐδτετερον επιτηδειον ἀχρεῖον εἶναι προς ἅπαντα

¶ *M Cic Pro A Cluentio*

1 Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui, quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mente 2 Proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inuentis obtemperet 3 In stulticia contra est minus enim stultus est is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quam ille, qui, quod stultè alteri venit in mentem comprobatur

*Cicero* doth not plainlie expresse the last sentence, but doth inuent it fitlie for his purpose, to taunt the folie and simplicitie in his aduersarie *Aelius*, not weying wiselie, the sutle doynges of *Chrysogonus* and *Statenus*

¶ *Tit Liuius in Orat Minutij Lib 22*

1 Sæpe ego audius milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit 2 Secundum eum, qui bene momenti obediatur 3 Qui, nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenij

Now, which of all these foure, *Sophocles*, *S Basil*, *Cicero*, or *Liuius*, hath expressed *Hesiodus* best, the iudgement is as hard, as the workmanship of euerie one is most excellent in deede An other example out of the *Latin* tong also I will recite, for the worthines of the workeman therof, and that is *Horace*, who hath

## Epitome

This is a way of studie, belonging, rather to matter, than to wordes to memorie, than to utterance to those that be learned alreadie, and hath small place at all amonges yong scholars in Grammer scholes. It may profit priuately some learned men, but it hath hurt generallie learning it selfe, very moch. For by it haue we lost whole *Tregus*, the best part of *T. Lutus*, the goodlie Dictionarie of *Pompeius festus*, a great deale of the Ciuill lawe, and other many notable bookes, for the which cause, I do the more mislike this exercise, both in old and yong

*Epitome*, is good priuatelie for himselfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all other that vse other mens labor therein a sile poore kinde of studie, not vnlke to the doing of those poore folke, which neyther till, nor sowe, nor reape themselves, but gleane by stelth, vpon other mens growndes. Soch, haue emptie barnes, for deare yeares

Grammer scholes haue fewe *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and such beggarlie gatheringes, as *Horman*, *Whittington*, and other like vulgares for making of latines. yea I do wishe, that all rules for yong scholars, were shorter than they be. For without doute, *Grammatica* it selfe, is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rewles of *Grammarians*. *Epitome* hurteth more, in the vniuersities and studie of Philosophie but most of all, in diuinitie it selfe

In deede bookes of common places be verie necessarie, to induce a man, into an orderlie generall knowledge, how to referre orderlie all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum Capita*, and not wander in studie. And to that end did *P. Lombardus* the master of sentences and *Pb. Melancthon* in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places

But to dwell in *Epitomes* and bookes of common places, and not to binde himselfe daile by orderlie studie, to reade with all diligence, principallie the holiest scripture and withall, the best Doctors, and so to learne to make trewe difference betwixt, the authoritie of the one, and the Counsell of the other, maketh so many seeming, and sonburnt ministers as we haue, whose

learning is gotten in a sommer heat, and washed away, with a Christmas snow againe who neuerthelesse, are lesse to be blamed, than those blind bussardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull maliciousnes, would neyther learne themselues, nor could teach others, any thing at all

*Paraphraus* hath done lesse hurt to learning, than *Epitome* for no *Paraphraus*, though there be many, shall neuer take away *Dauids* Psalter *Frasmas* *Paraphraus* being neuer so good, shall neuer banishe the new Testament And in an other schole, the *Paraphraus* of *Brocardus*, or *Sambacus*, shal neuer take *Arist* the *Rhetoricke*, nor *Flora e de Arte Poeti a*, out of learned mens handes

But, as concerning a schole *Epitome*, he that wold haue an example of it, let him read *Lucian* *περι κίλλου* which is the verie *Epit me* of *Isocrates* oration *de laudibus Helenæ*, whereby he may learne, at the least, this wise lesson, that a man ought to beware, to be ouer bold, in altering an excellent mans worke

Neuertheles, some kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed, by men of skilful iudgement, to the great proffet also of others As if a wise man would take *Halles* Cronicle, where moch good matter is quite marde with Indenture Englishe, and first change, strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper, and commonlie vsed wordes next, specially to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle, not onelie where wordes be vaine heaped one vpon an other, but also where many sentences, of one meaning, be so clowted vp together as though *M Hall* had bene, not writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching schole surelie a wise learned man, by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away wordes and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, shold leaue to mens vse, a storie, halfe as moch as it was in quantitie, but twice as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commoditie

An other kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed likewise very well, to moch proffet. Som man either by lustines of nature, or brought by ill teaching, to a wrong iudgement, is ouer full of words, setences, & matter, & yet all his words be proper, apt & well chosen all his setences be rownd and trimlie framed his whole matter grownded vpon good reason, & stuffed with full argumets, for his intent & purpose Yet whe his talke



shalbe heard, or his writing be red, of soch one, as is, either of my two dearest frendes, *M. Haddon* at home, or *Iohn Sturmius* in Germanie, that *Nimium* in him, which fooles and vnlearned will most commend, shall eyther of thies two, bite his lippe, or shake his heade at it

This fulnes as it is not to be misliked in a yong man, so in farder aige, in greater skill, and weightier affaires, it is to be tempered, or else discretion and iudgement shall seeme to be wanting in him. But if his stile be still ouer rancke and lustie, as some men being neuer so old and spent by yeares, will still be full of youthfull conditions as was *Syr F. Bryan*, and euermore wold haue bene soch a rancke and full writer, must vse, if he will do wiselie the exercise of a verie good kinde of *Epist me*, and do, as certaine wise men do, that be ouer fat and fleshie who leauing their owne full and plentiful table, go to sojorne abroad from home for a while, at the temperate diet of some sober man and so by litle and litle, cut away the grosnesse that is in them. As for an example If *Osorius* would leaue of his lustines in struing against *S. Austen*, and his ouer rancke rayling against poore *Luther*, and the troth of Gods doctrine, and giue his whole studie, not to write any thing of his owne for a while, but to translate *Demosthenes*, with so strait, fast, & temperate a style in latine, as he is in Greeke, he would become so perfit & pure a writer, I beleue, as hath bene fewe or none sence *Ciceroes* dayes. And so, by doing himself and all learned moch good, do others lesse harme, & Christes doctrine lesse iniury, thā he doth & with all, wyn vnto himselfe many worthy frends, who agreing with him gladly, in ye loue & liking of excellent learning, are sorie to see so worthie a witte, so rare eloquence, wholie spent and consumed, in struing with God and good men

Emonges the rest, no man doth lament him more than I, not onelie for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also because there hath passed priuatelie betwixt him and me, sure tokens of moch good will, and frendlie opinion, the one toward the other. And surelie the distance betwixt London and Lysbon, should not stoppe, any kinde of frendlie dewtie, that I could, eyther shew to him, or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certeyne pointes, separate our myndes

And yet for my parte, both toward him, and diuerse others

here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdom, and gentle humanitie, which I haue scene in them, and felt at their handes my selfe, where the matter of difference is mere conscience in a quiet minde inwardlie, and not contentious malice with spitefull rayling openlie, I can be content to followe this rewle, in misliking some one thing, not to hate for anie thing els

But as for all the bloodie beastes, as that fat Boore of the wood or those brauling Bulles of Basan or any lurking *Dormus*, blinde, not by nature, but by malice, & as may be gathered of their owne testimonie, giuen ouer to blindnes, for giuing ouer God & his word, or soch as be so lustie runnegates, as first, runne from God & his trew doctrine, than, from their Lordes, Masters, & all dewtie, next, fro them selues & out of their wittes, lastly from their Prince, contrey, & all dew allegeance, whether they ought rather to be pitied of good men, for their miserie, or contemned of wise men, for their malicious folie, let good and wise men determine

And to returne to *Epitome* agayne, some will iudge moch boldnes in me, thus to iudge of *Oisrius* style but wise men do know, that meane lookers on, may trowelie say, for a well made Picture This face had bene more cumlie, if that hie redde in the cheeke, were somewhat more pure sanguin than it is and yet the stander by, can not amend it himselfe by any way

And this is not written to the dispraise but to the great commendation of *Oisrius*, because *Tullie* himselfe had the same fulnes in him and therefore went to *Rodes* to cut it away and saith himselfe, *recept me durum prope mutatus, nam quasi reseruaret iam oratio* Which was brought to passe I beleue, not onelie by the teaching of *Molo Appollonius* but also by a good way of *Epitome*, in binding him selfe to translate meros *Atticos Oratores*, and so to bring his style, from all lowse grosnesse, to soch firme fastnes in latin, as is in *Demosthenes* in Greeke And this to be most trew, may easelie be gathered, not onelie of *L. Crassus* talke in *de Or* but specialee of *Ciceroes* owne deede in translating *Demosthenes* and *Eschines* orations *τεπι αρεθ* to that verie ende and purpose

And although a man growndlie learned all readie, may take moch proffet him selfe in vsing, by *Epitome*, to draw other mens

workes for his owne memorie sake, into shorter rowme, as *Conterus* hath done verie well the whole *Metamorphosis* of *Ouid*, & *Dauid Cythraeus* a great deale better, the ix Muses of *Herodotus*, and *Melanchthon* in myne opinion, far best of all, the whole storie of Time, not onelie to his own vse, but to other mens proffet and hys great prayse, yet, *Epitome* is most necessarie of all in a mans owne writing, as we learne of that noble Poet *Virgill*, who, if *Donatus* say trewe, in writing that perfite worke of the *Georgickes*, vsed dailie, when he had written 40 or 50 verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and pollishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of x or xij

And this exercise, is not more nedefullie done in a great worke, than wiselie done, in your common dailie writing, either of letter, or other thing else, that is to say, to peruse diligentlie, and see and spie wiselie, what is alwaies more than nedeth For, twenty to one, offend more, in writing to moch, than to litle euen as twentie to one, fall into sicknesse, rather by ouer moch fulnes, than by anie lacke or emptinesse And therefore is he alwaies the best English Physition, that best can geue a purgation, that is, by way of *Epitome*, to cut all ouer much away And surelie mens bodies, be not more full of ill humors, than commonlie mens myndes (if they be yong, lustie, proude, like and loue them selues well, as most men do) be full of fansies, opinions, errors, and faultes, not onelie in inward inuention, but also in all their vtterance, either by pen or taulke

And of all other men, euen those that haue ye inuentiuest heades, for all purposes, and roundest tonges in all matters and places (except they learne and vse this good lesson of *Epitome*) commit commonlie greater faultes, than dull, staying silent men do For, quicke inuentors, and faire readie speakers, being boldned with their present habilitie to say more, and perchance better to, at the soden for that present, than any other can do, vse lesse helpe of diligence and studie than they ought to do and so haue in them commonlie, lesse learning, and weaker iudgement, for all deepe considerations, than some duller heades, and slower tonges haue

And therefore, readie speakers, generallie be not the best, playnest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest iudgers in weightie affaires, bicause they do not tarry to weye and iudge all thinges, as they should but hauing their heades ouer full of

matter, be like pennies ouer full of incke, which will soner blotte, than make any faire letter at all. Tyme was, when I had experience of two Ambassadors in one place, the one w<sup>th</sup> a hote head to inuent, and of a hastie hand to write, the oth<sup>r</sup> colde and stayd in both. but what difference of their do<sup>ing</sup> was made by wise men, is not vnkowne to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester *Steph Gardiner* had a quicke head, and a readie tong, and yet was not the best writer in England. *Cicero* in *Brutus* doth wiselye note the same in *Serg. Gal.* and *Q. Hortensius*, who were both, hote, lustie, and plaine speakers, but colde, lowse, and rough writers. And *Tullie* telleth the cause why, saying, whā they spake, their tong was naturally caried with full tyde & wynde of their witte. whā they wrote their head was solitarie, dull, and caulme, and so their style was blonte, and their writing colde. *Quid uirtus, sayth Cicero, peringenissus Lamius neq̃ satis d<sup>i</sup>is plerumq̃ accidit*

And therefore all quick inuentors, & readie faire speakers, must be carefull, that, to their goodnes of nature, they adde also in any wise, studie, labor, leasure, learning, and iudgement, and than they shall in deede, passe all other, as I know some do, in whome all those qualites are fullie planted, or else if they giue ouer moch to their witte, and ouer lile to their labor and learning, they will sonest ouer reach in taulke, and fardest cum behinde in writing whatsoever they take in hand. The methode of *Epitome* is most necessarie for soch kinde of men. And thus much concerning the vse or misuse of all kinde of *Epitomes* in matters of learning.

### × *Imitatio*

*Imitation*, is a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfite lie that example which ye go about to folow. And of it selfe, it is large and wide. for all the workes of nature, in a maner be examples for arte to folow.

But to our purpose, all languages, both learned and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onelie by *Imitatio*. For as ye vse to heare, so ye learne to speake. if ye heare no other, ye speake not your selfe. and whome ye onelie heare, of them ye onelie learne.

And therefore, if ye would speake as the best and wisest do,

ye must be conuersant, where the best and wisest are but if yow be borne or brought vp in a rude contrie, ye shall not chose but speake rudelie the rudest man of all knoweth this to be trewe

Yet neuerthelesse, the rudenes of common and mother tonges, is no bar for wise speaking For in the rudest contrie, and most barbarous mother language, many be found can speake verie wiselie but in the Greeke and latin tong, the two onelie learned tonges, which be kept, not in common taulke, but in priuate bookes, we finde alwayes, wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good vtterance, neuer or seldom a sonder For all soch Authors, as be fullest of good matter and right iudgement in doctrine, be likewise alwayes, most proper in wordes, most apte in sentence, most plaine and pure in vttering the same

And contrariwise, in those two tonges, all writers, either in Religion, or any sect of Philosophie, who so euer be founde sonde in iudgement of matter, be commonl e found as rude in vttering their mynde For Stoickes, Anabaptistes, and Friers with Epicures, Libertines and Monkes, being most like in learning and life, are no sonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writings I hey be not wise, therefore that say, what care I for a mans wordes and vtterance, if his matter and reasons be good Soch men, say so, not so moch of ignorance, as eyther of some singular pride in themselues, or some speciall malice or other, or for some priuate & perciall matter, either in Religion or other kinde of learning For good and choice meates, be no more requisite for helthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters, and also plaine and sensible vtterance for the best and depest reasons in which two pointes standeth perfite eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest giftes that God doth geue to man

Ye know not, what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for wordes, but for matter, and so make a deuorse betwixt the tong and the hart For marke all ages looke vpon the whole course of both the Greeke and Latin tonge, and ye shall surelie finde, that, whan apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and properties of those two tonges to be confounded, than also began, ill deedes to spring strange maners to oppresse good orders, newe and fond opin ons to strue with olde and trewe doctrine, first in Philosophie and after in Religion right

2 This and that he leaueth out, which he doth wittelic to this end and purpose

3 This he addeth here

4 This he diminisheth there

5 This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there

6 This he altereth and changeth, either, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one, or other conuenient circumstance of the authors present purpose In thies fewe rude English wordes, are wrapt vp all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe *Imitation* is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left vnto me by the cunningest Master, and one of the worthiest Ientlemen that euer England bred, Syr *Iohn Croke* partelie borrowed by me out of the shoppe of the dearest frende I haue out of England, *Is St* And therefore I am the bolder to borow of him, and here to leaue them to other, and namelie to my Children which tooles, if it please God, that an other day, they may be able to vse rightlie, as I do wish and daylie pray, they may do, I shal be more glad, than if I were able to leaue them a great quantitie of land

This foresaide order and doctrine of *Imitation*, would bring forth more learning, and breed vp trewer iudgement, than any other exercise that can be vsed, but not for yong beginners, because they shall not be able to consider dulie therof And trewelie, it may be a shame to good studentes who hauing so faire examples to follow, as *Plato* and *Tullie*, do not vse so wise wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wisdom and learning, as rude ignorant Artificers do, for gayning a small commoditie For surelie the meanest painter vseth more witte, better arte, greater diligence, in hys shoppe, in folowing the Picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the best studentes do, euen in the vniuersitie, for the attaining of learning it selfe

Some ignorant, vnlearned, and idle student or some busie looker vpon this litle poore booke, that hath neither will to do good him selfe, nor skill to iudge right of others, but can lustelie contemne, by pride and ignorance, all painfull diligence and right order in study, will perchance say, that I am to precise, to

curious, in marking and piteing thus about the imitation of others and that the olde worthie Authors did neuer busie their heades and wittes, in solowng so preciselie, either the matter what other men wrote, or els the maner how other men wrote They will say, it were a plaine slauerie, & iniurie to, to shackle and tye a good witte, and hinder the course of a m<sup>ns</sup> good nature with such bondes of seruitude, in solowng other

Except soch men thinke them selues wiser then *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turne a new leafe.

The best booke that euer *Tullie* wrote, by all mens iudgement, and by his owne testimonie to, in writng wherof, he employed most care, studie, learning and iudgement, is his booke *de Orat ad Q F* Now let vs see, what he did for the matter, and also for the maner of writing therof For the whole booke consisteth in these two pointes onelie In good matter, and good handling of the matter And first, for the matter, it is whole *Aristiles*, what so euer *Antonie* in the second, and *Crassus* in the third doth teach Trust not me, but beleue *Tullie* him selfe, who writeth so, first, in that goodlie long Epistle *ad P. Lentulum*, and after in diuerse places *ad Atticum* And in the verie booke it selfe, *Tullie* will not haue it hidden, but both *Catulus* and *Crassus* do oft and pleasantly lay that stelh to *Antoni* charge Now, for the handling of the matter, was *Tullie* so precise and curious rather to follow an other mans Paterne, than to inuent some newe shape him selfe, namelie in that booke, wherein he purposed, to leaue to posteritie, the glorie of his witte? yea forsooth, that he did And this is not my gessing and gathering, nor onelie performed by *Tullie* in verie deed, but vttered also by *Tullie* in plaine wordes to teach other men thereby, what they should do, in taking like matter in hand

And that which is specially to be marked, *Tullie* doth vtter plainlie his conceit and purpose therein, by the mouth of the wisest man in all that companie for sayth *Scæuola* him selfe, *Cur non imitatur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis &c*

And further to vnderstand, that *Tullie* did not obster and bichance, but purposelie and mindfullie bend him selfe to a precise and curious Imitation of *Plato*, concerning the shape

not done it perfitelie enough for example which he did, neither for lacke of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, conteted with one or two examples, bicause he was mynded in those two bookes, to write of it both shortlie, and also had to touch other matters

*Barthol Riccius Ferrariensis* also hath written learnedlie, diligentlie and verie largelie of this matter euen as hee did before verie well *de Apparatu linguæ Lat* He writeth the better in myne opinion, bicause his whole doctrine, iudgement, and order, semeth to be borrowed out of *Io Stur* bookes He addeth also examples, the best kinde of teaching wherein he doth well, but not well enough in deede, he committeth no faulte, but yet, deserueth small praise He is content with the meane, and followeth not the best as a man, that would feede vpon Acornes, whan he may eate, as good cheape, the finest wheat bread He teacheth for example, where and how, two or three late *Italian* Poetes do follow *Virgil* and how *Virgil* him selfe in the storie of *Did*, doth wholie Imitate *Catullus* in the like matter of *Ariadna* Wherein I like better his diligence and order of teaching, than his iudgement in choice of examples for *Imitation* But, if he had done thus if he had declared where and how, how oft and how many wayes *Virgil* doth folow *Homer*, as for example the coming of *Vlysses* to *Alycnus* and *Calypso*, with the comming of *Aeneas* to *Cartage* and *Did* Likewise the games running, wrestling, and shoting, that *Achilles* maketh in *Homer*, with the selfe same games, that *Aeneas* maketh in *Virgil* The harnessse of *Achilles*, with the harnessse of *Aeneas*, and the maner of making of them both by *Vulcane* The notable combate betwixt *Achilles* and *Hector*, with as notable a combate betwixt *Aeneas* and *Turnus* The going downe to hell of *Vlysses* in *Homer*, with the going downe to hell of *Aeneas* in *Virgil* and other places infinite mo, as similitudes, narrations, messages, descriptions of persones, places, battels, tempestes, shipwrackes, and common places for diuerse purposes, which be as precisely taken out of *Homer*, as euer did Painter in London follow the picture of any faire personage And whē thies places had bene gathered together by this way of diligence than to haue conferred them together by this order of teaching as, diligently to marke what is kept and vsed in either author, in wordes, in sentences, in matter what is added what is left



out what ordered otherwise, either *prop. uenit*, *interp. uenit*, or *postponit*. And what is altered for any respect, in word, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance. If *Riccius* had done this, he had not onely bene well liked, for his diligence in teaching, but also iustlie commended for his right iudgement in right choice of examples for the best *Imitation*.

*Riccius* also for *Imitation* of prose declareth where and how *Longinus* doth folow *Tullie*, but as for *Longinus*, I would not haue him the patern of our *Imitation*. In deede in *Longinus* shoppe, be proper and faire shewing colers, but as for shape, figure, and naturall cunlines, by the iudgement of best iudging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withall, than especially commended, as one chieflie to be folowed.

If *Riccius* had taken for his exâples, where *Tullie* him selfe foloweth either *Plato* or *Demosthenes*, he had shot than at the right marke. But to excuse *Riccius*, somewhat, though I can not fullie defend him, it may be sayd, his purpose was, to teach onelie the Latin tong, when thys way that I do wish, to ioyn *Virgil* with *Homere*, to read *Tullie* with *Demosthenes* and *Plato*, requireth a cunning and perfite Master in both the tonges. It is my wish in deede, and that by good reason. For who so euer will write well of any matter, must labor to expresse that, that is perfite, and not to stay and content himselfe with the meane yea, I say farder, though it be not vnpossible, yet it is verie rare, and meruelous hard, to proue excellent in the Latin tong, for him that is not also well seene in the Greeke tong. *Tullie* him selfe, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labor, brought vp from his cradle, in that place, and in that tyme, where and when the Latin tong most florished naturallie in euery mans mouth, yet was not his owne tong able it selfe to make him so cunning in his owne tong, as he was in deede. but the knowledge and *Imitation* of the Greeke tong withall.

This he confesseth himselfe this he vttereth in many places, as those can tell best, that vse to read him most.

Therefore thou, that sholest at perfection in the Latin tong, thinke not thy selfe wiser than *Tullie* was, in choice of the way, that leadeth rightlie to the same. thinke not thy witte better than *Tullie* was, as though that may serue thee that was not sufficient for him. For euen as a hauke flieth not hie with one

wing euen so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tong

I haue bene a looker on in the Cockpit of learning thies many yeares And one Cock onelie haue I knowne, which with one wing, euen at this day, doth passe all other, in myne opinion, that euer I saw in any pitte in England, though they had two winges Yet neuerthelesse, to flie well with one wing, to runne fast with one leg, be rather, rare Maistreis moch to be merueled at, than sure examples safelie to be folowed A Bushop that now liueth, a good man, whose iudgement in Religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitnes in other learning, said once vnto me we haue no nede now of the Greeke tong, when all thinges be translated into Latin But the good mā vnderstood not, that euen the best translation, is, for mere necessitie, but an euill impeded wing to flie withall, or a heuie stompe leg of wood to go withall soch, the hies they flie, the sooner they falter and fail the faster they runne, the ofter they stumble, and sorer they fall Soch as will nedes so flie, may flie at a Pye, and catch a Dawe And soch runners, as commonlie, they shoue and sholder to stand formost, yet in the end they cum behind others & deserue but the hopshakles, if the Masters of the game be right iudgers.

Therefore in perusing thus, so many diuerse bookes for  
*Imitation*, it came into my head that a uene profitable booke might be made *de Imitatione*, after an other sort, than euer yet was attempt'ed of that matter, conteyning a certaine fewe fitte preceptes, vnto the which should be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choisest authors of both the tonges This worke would stand, rather in good diligence, for the gathering, and right iudgement for the apte applying of those examples than any great learning or vtterance at all

The doing thereof, would be more pleasant, than painfull, & would bring also moch proffert to all that should read it, and great pra se to him would take it in hand, with iust desert of thanks

*Erasmus*, giuyng him selfe to read ouer all Authors *Greeke* and *Latin*, seemeth to haue prescribed to him selfe this order of readyng that is, to note out by the way, three speciall pointes All Adagies,

Optima  
ratio Imitationis.

*Erasmus*  
order in his  
studie

all similitudes, and all wittie sayings of most notable person-  
ages And so, by one labour, he left to posteritie, three notable  
bookes, & namelie two his *Ghiliades*, *Apophthegmata* and *Similia*  
Likewise, if a good student would bend him selfe to read  
diligently ouer Tullie, and with him also at  
the same tyme, as diligetly *Plato*, & *Xenopho*,  
with his bookes of Philosophie, *Isocrates*, &  
*Demosthenes* with his orations, & *Aristotle* with  
his Rhetorickes which fine of all other, be  
those, whom Tullie best loued, & specially followed & would  
marke diligetly in Tullie, where he doth *exprimere* or *effingere*  
(which be the verie propre wordes of Imitation) either, *Copiam*  
*Platonis* or *venustate Xenophontis*, *suauietatem Isocratis*, or *vim*  
*Demosthenis*, *propriam* & *puram subtilitatem Aristotelis*, and not  
onely write out the places diligently, and lay them together  
orderlie, but also to conferre them with skilfull iudgement by  
those few rules, which I haue expressed now twice before if  
that diligence were taken, if that order were vsed, what perfite  
knowledge of both the tonges, what readie and pithie vtterance  
in all matters, what right and deepe iudgement in all kinde of  
learning would follow, is scarce credible to be beleued

Cicero { *Plato*  
*Xenophon*  
*Isocrates*  
*Demosth*  
*Aristoteles*

These bookes, be not many, nor long, nor rude in speech,  
nor meane in matter, but next the Maiestie of Gods holie word,  
most worthie for a man, the louer of learning and honestie, to  
spend his life in Yea, I haue heard worthie *M Cheke* many  
tymes say I would haue a good student passe and iorney  
through all Authors both *Greke* and *Latin* but he that will  
dwell in these few bookes onely first, in Gods holie Bible, and  
than ioyne with it, Tullie in *Latin*, *Plato*, *Aristotle* *Xenophon*  
*Isocrates* and *Demosthenes* in *Greke* must nedes proue an excel  
lent man.

Some men already in our dayes, haue put to their helping  
handes, to this worke of Imitation As *Peri-* *Perionius*  
*onius*, *Her Stephanus* in *dictionary Ciceroniano*, *II Steph*  
and *P Victorius* most praiseworthy of all, in *P Vic or-*  
that his learned worke conteyning xxv bookes *de* *ius*  
*varia lectione* in which bookes be ioyned diligently together the  
best Authors of both the tonges where one doth seeme to  
imitate an other

But all these, with *Macrobis*, *Hessus*, and other, be no

more but common porters, caryers, and bringers of matter and stuffe together They order nothing They lay before you, what is done they do not teach you, how it is done They busie not them selues with forme of building They do not declare, this stuffe is thus framed by *Demosthenes*, and thus and thus by *Tullie*, and so likewise in *Xenophon*, *Plato* and *Isocrates* and *Aristotle* For ioyning *Virgil* with *Homer* I haue sufficientlie declared before

The like diligence I would wish to be taken in *Pindar* and

*Pindarus* *Horace* an equall match for all respectes

*Horatius* In Tragedies, (the goodhest Argument of all, and for the vse, either of a learned preacher, or a

Ciuill Gentleman, more profitable than *Homer*, *Pindar*, *Virgill*, and *Horace* yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine

*Sophocles* of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*;) the Grecians,

*Euripides* *Sophocles* and *Euripides* far ouer match our *Seneca*,

*Seneca* in *Latin*, namely in *oikonomia et Decoro*, although

*Senecaes* elocutiō and verse be verie commendable for his tyme

And for the matters of *Hercules*, *Thebes*, *Hippolytus*, and *Tracie*,

his Imitation is to be gathered into the same booke, and to be

tryed by the same touchstone, as is spoken before

In histories, and namelie in *Liue*, the like diligence of Imitation, could bring excellent learning, and breede stayde iudgement, in taking any like matter in hand

Onely *Liue* were a sufficient taske for one mans studie,

*Tit Liuius* to compare him, first with his fellow for all re-

*Dion Halicarnassæus* spectes, *Dion Halicarnassæus* who both, lued in

*earn* one tyme tooke both one historie in hande to

write descriued both like prayse of learnyng and eloquence

*Polibius* Than with *Polybius* that wise writer, whom *Liue*

it is plaine, that the best part of the thyrd *Decade* in *Liue*, is in

*Thucydides* a maner translated out of the thyrd and rest of

tion *Liue* is *Polibius* Lastlie with *Thucydides*, to whose Imita-

*1 De ad* tion of those of *Campania*, asking aide of the

*Lib 7* *Romans* arraynst the *Sannites*, whch is whole

taken, Sentence, Reason, Argument, and order,

out of the Orat on of *Cercyra*, asking like a de of

*Thu ad 1* the *Athenienses* aga nst them of *Corinth* If some

diligent student would take paynes to compare them together, he should easilie perceiue, that I do say trew A booke, thus whole filled with examples of Imitatio, first out of *Tullie*, compared with *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes* and *Aristotle* than out of *Virgil* and *Horace*, with *Homer* and *Pindar* next out of *Seneca* with *Sophocles* and *Euripides* Lastlie out of *Luise*, with *Thucydides*, *Polibius* and *Halicarnassæus*, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I haue expressed before, were an other maner of worke for all kinde of learning, & namely for eloquence, than be those cold gatheringes of *Macrobius*, *Hessus*, *Perionius*, *Stephanus*, and *Victorius*, which may be vsed, as I sayd before, in this case, as porters and caryers, deseruing like prayse, as soch men do wages, but onely *Sturmius* is he, out of who, the trew suruey and whole workemanship is speciallie to be learned

I trust, this my writyng shall giue some good student occasion, to take some peece in hand of this worke of Imitation And as I had rather haue any do it, than my selfe, yet surelie my selfe rather thn none at all And by Gods grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free laysure and libertie, with good likyng and a merie heart, I will turne the best part of my studie and tyme, to toyle in one or other peece of this worke of Imitation

Opus de  
recta im  
itandi ra  
tione

This diligence to gather examples, to giue light and vnderstandyng to good preceptes, is no new inuention, but speciallie vsed of the best Authors and oldest writers For *Aristotle* *Aristoteles* him selfe, (as *Diog Laertius* declareth) when he had written that goodlie booke of the *Topickes*, d d gather out of stories and Orators, so many examples as filled xv bookes, onelie to expresse the rules of his *Topickes* These were the Commentaries, that *Aristotle* thought fit for hys *Topickes* And therefore to speake as I thinke, I neuer saw yet any Commentarie vpon *Aristotiles* *Logicke*, either in *Greke* or *Latin*, that cuer I lyked, because they be rather spent in declaryng scholepaynt rules, than in gathering fit examples for vse and vtterance, either by pen or talke For preceptes in all Authors, and namelie in *Aristotl*, without applying vnto them, the Imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therefore barrayn, vnfrutfull and vnpleasant But *Aristotle*,

Con n en  
tarij Gre  
ci et Lat  
ni in Da  
lect Ar  
stotelis

namelie in his *Topickes* and *Elenches*, should be, not onelie fruitfull, but also pleasant to, if examples out of *Plato*, and other good Authors, were diligentlie gathered, and aptlie  
 Preceſſa applied vnto his most perfit preceptes there  
 in Aristot And it is notable, that my frende *Sturmius* writeth  
 Exempla herein, that there is no precept in *Aristotles*  
 in Platone *Topickes*, wherof plentie of examples be not  
 manifest in *Platos* workes And I heare say, that an excellent  
 learned man, *Tomitanus* in *Italie*, hath expressed euerie fallacion  
 in *Aristotle*, with diuerse examples out of *Plato* Would to  
 God, I might once see, some worthie student of *Aristotle* and  
*Plato* in *Cambrige*, that would ioyn in one booke the preceptes  
 of the one, with the examples of the other For such a labor,  
 were one speciall peece of that worke of Imitation, which I do  
 wishe were gathered together in one Volume

*Cambrige*, at my first comming thither, but not at my  
 going away, committed this fault in reading the preceptes of  
*Aristotle* without the examples of other Authors But herein,  
 in my time thies men of worthie memorie, *M Redman*,  
*M Cheke*, *M Smith*, *M Haddon*, *M Watson*, put so to  
 their helping handes, as that vniuersitie, and all studentes there,  
 as long as learning shall last, shall be bounde vnto them, if that  
 trade in studie be trewlie folowed, which those men left behinde  
 them there

By this small mention of *Cambridge*, I am caryed into three  
 imaginations first, into a sweete remembrance of my tyme  
 spent there than, into som carefull thoughts, for the greuous  
 alteration that folowed sone after lastlie, into much ioy to  
 heare tell, of the good recouerie and earnest forwardnes in all  
 good learning there agayne

To vtter theis my thoughts somewhat more largelie, were  
 somewhat beside my matter, yet not very farre out of the way,  
 bycause it shall wholly tend to the good encoragement and right  
 consideration of learning whch is my full purpose in writing  
 this litle booke whereby also shall well appeare this sentence  
 to be most trewe, that onely good men, by their gouernment  
 & example, make happie times, in euery degree and state.

*Doctor Nic Medcalfe* that honorable father, was Master  
 of *S Iohnes Colledge*, when I came thether A  
 man meanelie learned himselfe, but not meanely

affectioned to set forward learning in others. He found that Colledge spending scarce two hundred markes by yeare: he left it spending a thousand markes and more. Which he procured, not with his mony, but by his wisdom; not chargeable bought by him, but liberallie geuen by others by his meane, for the zeale & honor they bare to learning. And that which is worthy of memorie, all thies giuers were almost Northenmen: who being liberallie rewarded in the seruice of their Prince, bestowed it as liberallie for the good of their Contrie. Som men thought therefore, that *D. Medcalf* was parciall to Northrenmen, but sure I am of this, that Northrenmē were parciall, in doing more good, and geuing more lides to y<sup>e</sup> sorderance of learning, than any other contrie mē, in those dayes, did: which deede should haue bene, rather an example of goodnes, for other to folowe, than matter of malice, for any to enuie, as some there were that did. Trewly, *D. Medcalf* was parciall to none: but indifferent to all: a master for the whole, a father to euery one, in that Colledge. There was none so poore, if he had, either wil to goodnes, or wit to learning, that could lacke being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes my selfe, that mony many times was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy *Nicolaus* folowed the steppes of good olde *S. Nicolaus*, that learned Bishop. He was a Papist in deede, but would to God, amonges all vs Protestants I might once see but one, that would winne like praise, in doing like good, for the aduancement of learning and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, geuen to new learning (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labor, and towardnes, euen the same, neyther lacked, open praise to encorage him, nor priuate exhibition to mainteyne hym, as worthy Syr *I. Cheke*, if he were aliue would beare good witnes and so can many mo. I my selfe one of the meanest of a great number, in that Colledge, because there appeared in me som small shew of towardnes and diligence, lacked not his fauor to sorder me in learning.

The parci-  
allie of  
Northren  
men in  
*S. Johnes*  
Colledge

And being a boy, new Bachelor of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope which matter was

than in euery mans mouth, bycause *D Haines* and *D Skiffe* were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputation in the vniuersitie This hapned the same tyme, when I stooode to be felow there my taulke came to *D Medcalfes* eire I was called before him and the Seniores and after greuous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to ill the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election And yet for all those open threates, the good father himselfe priuile procured, that I should euen than be chosen felow But, the election being done, he made countenance of greit discontentation thereat This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towards me that one day, shall neuer out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning For next Gods prouidence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, *Dies natalis*, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furdurance, that hetherto else where I haue obteyned

This his goodnes stood not still in one or two, but flowed abundantlie ouer all that Colledge, and brake out also to norishe good wittes in euery part of that vniuersitie whereby, at this departing thence, he left such a companie of fellowes and scholars in *S Iohnes* Colledge, as can scarce be found now in some whole vniuersitie which, either for diuinitie, on the one side or other, or for Ciuill seruice to their Prince and contrie, haue bene, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole Realme Yea *S Iohnes* did the so flourish, as Trinitie college, that Princely house now, at the first erectio, was but *Colonia deducta* out of *S Iohnes*, not onelie for their Master, fellowes, and scholars, but also, which is more, for their whole, both order of learning, and discipline of maners & yet to this day, it neuer tooke Master but such as was bred vp before in *S Iohnes* doing the dewtie of a good *Colonia* to her *Metropolis*, as the auncient Cities in Greice and some yet in Italie, at this day, are accustomed to do

*S Iohnes* stooode in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced An 1553 whan mo perfite scholars were dispersed from thence in one moneth, than many  
 Psal 80      yeaues can reare vp againe For, whan *Apel de Sylua* had passed the seas, and fastned his foote



againe in England, not onely the two faire groues of learning in England were eyther cut vp, by the roote, or troden downe to the ground and wholie went to wracke, but the yong spring there, and euerie where else, was pitifullie nipt and ouertroden by very beastes, and also the fairest standers of all, were rooted vp, and cast into the fire, to the great weakning euen at this day of Christes Church in England, both for Religion and learning.

And what good could chance than to the vniuersities, whan som of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labor to perswade, that ignorance was better than knowledge, which they ment, not for the laitie onelie, but also for the greatest rable of their spirituallie, what other pretense openlie so euer they made: and therefore did som of them at Cambrige (whom I will not name openlie,) cause hedge priestes sette oute of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the vniuersitie saying, in their talke priuile, and declaring by their deedes openlie, that he was, felow good enough for their tyme, if he could were a gowne and a tipet cumhe, and haue hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie, and could turne his Portesse and pie readilie whiche I speake not to reprove any order either of apparell, or other dewtie, that may be well and indifferentlie vsed, but to note the miserie of that time, whan the benefites prouided for learning were so fowlie misused. And what was the frute of this seade? Verely, iudgement in doctrine was wholly altered order in discipline very sore changed the loue of good learning, began sodenly to wax cold the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: and so, ye way of right studie purposely perverted. the choice of good authors of mallice confounded Olde sophistrie (I say not well) not olde, but that new rotten sophistrie began to beard and sholder logicke in her owne tong yea, I know, that heades were cast together, and counsell deuised, that *Duns*, with all the rable of barbarous questionistes, should haue dispossessed of their place and rowmes, *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Tullie*, and *Demosthenes*, when good *M. Redman*, and those two worthy starres of that vniuersitie, *M. Choke*, and *M. Smith*, with their scholars, had brought to florishe as notable in Cambrige, as

*Aristoteles.*  
*Plato*  
*Cicero*  
*Demost*

Poeticum, in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Comicum \\ Tragicum \\ Epicum \\ Melicum \end{array} \right.$

And here, who soeuer hath bene diligent to read aduisedlie ouer, *Teren*, *Seneca*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, or els *Aristophanes*, *Sophocles*, *Homer*, and *Pindar*, and shall diligently marke the difference they vse, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in handlyng of their matter, he shall easelie perceiue, what is fite and *decorum* in euerie one, to the trew vse of perfite Imitation. Whan *M Watson* in S Iohns College at Cambrige wrote his excellent Tragedie of *Abisalon*, *M Cheke*, he and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had many pleasant talkes together, in comparing the preceptes of *Aristotle* and *Horace de Arte Poetica*, with the examples of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*. Few men, in wrytyng of Tragedies in our dayes, haue shot at this marke. Some in *England*, moe in *France*, *Germanie*, and *Italie*, also haue written Tragedies in our tyme of the which, not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes, and *Euripides* examples, saue onely two, that euer I saw, *M Watsons Absalon*, and *Georgius Buchananus Iephthe*. One man in Cambrige, well liked of many, but best liked of him selfe, was many tymes bold and busie, to bryng matters vpon stages, which he called Tragedies. In one, wherby he looked to winne his spurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes fast clapped their handes, he began the *Protaus* with *Trochaicis Ottonariis* which kinde of verse, as it is but seldome and rare in Tragedies, so is it neuer vsed, saue onelie in *Epitau* whan the Tragedie is hiest and hottest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember ful well what *M Watson* merelie sayd vnto me of his blindnesse and boldnes in that behalfe although otherwise, there passed much frendship betwene the. *M Watson* had another maner care of perfection, with a feare and reuerence of the iudgement of the best learned. Who to this day would neuer suffer, yet his *Abisalon* to go abroad, and that onelie, because, in *Ictis paribus*, *Anapestus* is twise or thrise vsed in stede of *Iambus*. A smal faulte, and such one, as perchance would neuer be marked, no neither in *Italie* nor *France*. This I write, not so much, to note the first, or praise the last, as to leaue in

memorie of writing, for good example to posteritie, what perfection, in any tyme, was, most diligentlie sought for in like manner, in all kinde of learnyng, in that most worthie College of S Iohns in Cambrige

Historicum in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Diaria \\ Annales \\ Commentariis \\ Iustam Historiam \end{array} \right.$

For what proprietic in wordes, simplicitie in sentences, plainnesse and light, is cumelic for these kindes, *Cæsar* and *Livy*, for the two last, are perfite examples of Imitation And for the two first, the old paternes be lost, and as for some that be present and of late tyme, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure, than oft to be perused, for any good Imitation of them

Philosophicum in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Sermone, as officia Cic et Eth Arist \\ Contentione \end{array} \right.$

As, the Dialoges of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Cicero* of which kinde of learnyng, and right Imitation therof, *Carolus Sigonius* hath written of late, both learnedlie and eloquentlie but best of all my frende *Ioan Sturmius* in hys Commentaries vpon *Gorgias Platonis*, which booke I haue in writyng, and is not yet set out in Print

Oratorium in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Humile \\ Mediocre \\ Sublime \end{array} \right.$

Examples of these three, in the Greke tong, be plentifull & perfite, as *Lycias*, *Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes* and all three, in onelic *Demosthenes*, in diuerse orations as *contra Olimpiodorum*, in *leptinem*, & *pro Ctesiphonte* And trew it is, that *Hermagines* writeth of *Demosthenes*, that all formes of Eloquence be perfite in him In *Ciceroes* Orations, *Medium* & *sublime* be most excellentlie handled, but *Humile* in his Orations, is seldome sene yet neuerthelesse in other bookes, as in some part of his offices, & specially in *Partitionibus*, he is comparable in bot *humili* & *disciplinabili genere*, euen with the best that euer

*Lycias*  
*Isocrates*  
*Demost*

*Cicero*

the bodie of a naked person, from the nauell downward, but nothing else


For word and speach, *Plautus* is more plentifull, and *Terence* more pure and proper And for one respect, *Terence* is to be embraced aboue all that euer wrote in hys kinde of argument Bicause it is well known, by good recorde of learning, and that by *Ciceroes* owne witnes that some Comedies bearyng *Terence* name, were written by worthy *Scipio*, and wise *Laelius*, and namely *Heauton* and *Adelphi* And therefore as oft as I reade those Comedies, so oft doth sound in myne eare, the pure fine talke of Rome, which was vsed by the floure of the worthiest nobilitie that euer Rome bred Let the wisest man, and best learned that lueth, read aduisedlie ouer, the first scene of *Heauton*, and the first scene of *Adelphi*, and let him consideratie iudge, whether it is the talke of a seruile stranger borne, or rather euen that milde eloquent wise speach, which *Cicero* in *Brutus* doth so liuely expresse in *Laelius* And yet neuerthelesse, in all this good proprietie of wordes, and purenesse of phrases which be in *Terence*, ye must not follow him alwayes in placing of them, bicause for the meter sake, some wordes in him, somtyme, be druen awrie, which require a straighter placing in plaine prose, if ye will forme, as I would ye should do, your speach and writing, to that excellent perfitnesse, which was onely in *Tullie*, or onelie in *Tullies* tyme

The meter and verse of *Plautus* and *Terence* be verie meane, and not to be followed which is not their reproch, but the fault of the tyme, wherein they wrote, whan no kinde of Poetrie, in the Latin tong, was brought to perfection, as doth well appeare in the fragmentes of *Ennius*, *Cæcilius*, and others, and euidentlie in *Plautus* & *Terence*, if thies in Latin be compared with right skil, with *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, and other in Greeke of lke sort *Cicero* him selfe doth complaine of this vnperfitnes, but more plainly *Quintilian*, saying, in *Comœdia maximè claudicamus, et vix leuè consequimur embram* and most earnestly of all *Horace* in *Arte Poetica*, which he doth namely *propter carmen Iambicum*, and referreth all good studentes herein to the Imitation of the Greeke tong, saying

*Exemplaria Græca  
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*


This matter maketh me gladly remember, my sweete tyme spent at Cambrige, and the pleasant talke which I had oft with *M Cheke*, and *M Watson*, of this fault, not onely in the olde Latin Poets, but also in our new English Rymers at this day. They wished as *Virgil* and *Horace* were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers (a shrewd manage in greater matters) but by right *Imitation* of the perfitt Grecians, had brought Poetrie to perfittnesse also in the Latin tong, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and vnderstand rightfully our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyd by them and after caryed into France and Germanie and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit in deede, but of small learning, and lesse iudgement in that behalfe

But now, when men know the difference, and haue the examples, both of the best, and of the worst, surelie, to follow rather the *Gothes* in Ryming, than the Greekes in trew versifying, were euen to eate ackornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread emonges men In deede, *Chauzer*, *Th Norton*, of Bristow, my *L of Surrey*, *M Wiat*, *Th Phaer*, and other Ientlemen, in translating *Ouide*, *Palingenius*, and *Seneca*, haue gonne as farre to their great praise, as the copie they followed could cary them, but, if soch good wittes, and forward diligence, had bene directed to follow the best examples, and not haue bene caryed by tyme and custome, to content themselues with that barbarous and rude Ryming, emonges their other worthy praises, which they haue iustly deserued, this had not bene the least, to be counted emonges men of learning and skill, more like vnto the Grecians, than vnto the Gothians, in handling of their verse

In deed, our English tong, hauing in vse chiefly, wordes of one syllable which commonly be long, doth not well receiue the nature of *Carmen Heroicum*, bicause *dactylus*, the aptest foote for that verse, cōteining one long & two short, is seldom therefore found in English and doth also rather stumble than stand vpon *Monosyllabis* *Quintilian* in hys learned Chapter *de Compositione*, geueth this lesson *de Monosyllabis*,  before me and in the same place doth iustlie inuey against all Ryming, that if there be any, who be angrie with me, for

misliking of Ryming, may be angry for company to, with *Quintilian* also, for the same thing And yet *Quintilian* had not so iust cause to mislike of it than, as mē haue at this day

And although *Carmen Exametrum* doth rather trotte and hoble, than runne smothly in our English tong, yet I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greeke* or *Latin* But for ignorance, men cā not like, & for idlenes, men will not labor, to cum to any perfitenes at all For, as the worthie Poetes in *Athens* and *Rome*, were more carefull to satisfie the iudgement of one learned, than rashe in pleasing the humor of a rude multitude, euen so if men in England now, had the like reuerend regard to learning skill and iudgement, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learnyng, and also did vse like diligence, in searchyng out, not onelie iust measure in euerie meter, as euerie ignorant person may easely do, but also trew quantitie in euerie foote and sillable, as onelie the learned shalbe able to do, and as the *Greekes* and *Romanes* were wont to do, surelie than rash ignorant heads, which now can easely reckon vp fourteen sillables, and easelie stumble on euerie Ryme, either durst not, for lacke of such learnyng or els would not, in auoyding such labor, be

 so busie, as euerie where they be and shoppes in London should not be so full of lewd and rude rymes, as commonlie they are But now, the ripeest of tong, be readiest to write And many dayly in setting out bookes and balettes make great shew of blossomes and buddes, in whom is neither, roote of learning, nor frute of wisdomē at all Some that make *Chaucer* in English and *Petrarch* in *Italian*, their Gods in verses, and yet be not able to make trew difference, what is a fault, and what is a iust prayse, in those two worthie wittes, will moch mislike this my writyng But such men be euen like followers of *Chaucer* and *Petrarke*, as one here in England did folow *Syr Tho More* who, being most vnlike vnto him, in wit and learnyng, neuertheles in wearing his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as *Syr Tho More* was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke vnto him

This mislikyng of Ryming, beginneth not now of any newfangle singularitie, but hath bene long misliked of many, and that of men, of greatest learnyng, and deepest iudgemēt. And soch, that defend it, do so, either for lacke of knowledge

what is best, or els of verie enuie, that any should performe that in learning, whereunto they, as I sayd before, either for ignorance, can not, or for idlenes will not, labor to attaine vnto

And you that prayse this Ryming, because ye neither haue reason, why to like it, nor can shew learning to defend it, yet I will helpe you, with the authoritie of the oldest and learnedst tyme. In *Greece*, whan Poetrie was euen at the hiest pitch of perfite, one *Simmas Rhodius* of a certaine singularitie wrote a booke in ryming *Greke* verses, naming it *alou*, conteyning the fable, how *Iupiter* in likenes of a swan, gat that egge vpon *Leda*, whereof came *Castor*, *Pollux* and faire *Elena*. This booke was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to folow it. But was presentlie contemned and sone after, both Author and booke, so forgotten by men, and consumed by tyme, as scarce the name of either is kept in memorie of learning. And the like folie was neuer folowed of any, many hondred yeares after vntill ye *Hunnes* and *Gothians*, and other barbarous nations, of ignorance and rude singularitie, did reuiue the same folie agayne


The noble Lord *Tb Earle of Surrey*, first of all English men, in traslating the fourth booke of *Virgill* The Earle of Surrey  
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The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but euen the good iudgement also of the best that write in these dayes in *Italie* and namelie of *Senese Felice Figliucci*, who, writyng

*Senese  
Felice  
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The Earle of  
Surrey  
*Gonsaluo*  
*Periz*

*Senese*  
*Felice*  
*Figliucca*

vpon *Aristotles Ethikes* so excellentlie in *Italian*, as neuer did yet any one in myne opinion either in *Greeke* or *Latin*, amongst other thynges doth most earnestlie inuey agaynst the rude ryming of verses in that tong: And whan soeuer he expresseth *Aristotles* preceptes, with any example, out of *Homer* or *Euripides*, he translateth them, not after the Rymes of *Petrarke*, but into soch kinde of perfit verse, with like secte and quantitie of sillables, as he found them before in the *Greeke* tonge: exhortyng earnestlie all the *Italian* nation, to leaue of their rude barbarousnesse in ryming, and folow diligently the excellent *Greeke* and *Latin* examples, in trew versifying.

And you, that be able to vnderstand no more, then ye finde in the *Italian* tong: and neuer went farder than the schole of *Petrarke* and *Armitus* abroad, or els of *Chaucer* at home though you haue pleasure to wander blindlie still in your soule wrong way, enuie not others, that seeke, as wise men haue done before them, the fairest and rightest way: or els, beside the iust reproch of malice, wisemen shall trewlie iudge, that you do so, as I haue sayd and say yet agayne vnto you, bicause, either, for idlenes ye will not, or for ignorance ye can not, cum by no better your selfe.

And therfore euen as *Virgill* and *Horace* deserue most worthie prayse, that they spying the vnperfitnes in *Ennius* and *Plautus*, by trew Imitation of *Homer* and *Euripides*, brought Poetrie to the same perfitnes in *Latin*, as it was in *Greeke*, euen so those, that by the same way would benefite their tong and contrey, deserue rather thankses than dispraise in that behalfe.

And I reioyce, that euen poore England preuented *Italie*, first in spying out, than in seeking to amend this fault in learning.

And here, for my pleasure I purpose a litle, by the way, to play and sporte with my Master *Tully* from whom commonlie I am neuer wont to dissent. He him selfe, for this point of learning, in his verses doth halt a litle by his leaue. He could not denie it, if he were alue, nor those defend hym now that loue him best. This fault I lay to his charge: bicause once it pleased him, though somewhat merelic, yet oueruncurtieshe, to rayle vpon poore England, obiecting both, extreme beggerie, and

Tullies  
saying a-  
gainst Eng-  
land.

mere barbariousnes vnto it, wrytyng thus vnto his frend *Atticus*  
 There is not one scruple of siluer in that whole Ad Att  
 Isle, or any one that knoweth either learnyng or Lib iv Ep  
 letter 16

But now master *Cicero*, blessed be God, and his sonne Iesu Christ, whom you neuer knew, except it were as it pleased him to lighten you by some shadow, as couertlie in one place ye cofesse saying *Veritatis tantum umbra consecretamur*, as your Master *Plato* did before you blessed be Offic  
 God, I say, that sixteen hudred yeare after you were dead and gone, it may trewly be sayd, that for siluer, there is more cumlie plate, in one Citie of England, than is in foure of the proudest Cities in all *Italie*, and take *Rome* for one of them. And for learnyng, beside the knowledge of all learned tonges and liberall sciences, euen your owne bookes *Cicero*, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loued, and as trewlie folowed in England at this day, as it is now, or euer was, sence your owne tyme, in any place of *Italie*, either at *Arpinum*, where ye were borne, or els at *Rome* where ye were brought vp. And a litle to brag with you *Cicero*, where you your selfe, by your leaue, halted in some point of learnyng in your owne tong, many in England at this day go streight vp, both in trewe skill, and right doing therein.

This I write, not to reprehend *Tullie*, whom, aboue all other, I like and loue best, but to excuse *Terence*, because in his tyme, and a good while after, Poetrie was neuer perfited in *Latin*, vntill by trew *Imitation* of the Grecians, it was at length brought to perfection. And also thereby to exhorte the goodlie wittes of England, which apte by nature, & willing by desire, geue the selues to Poetrie, that they, rightly vnderstanding the barbarous bringing in of Rymes, would labor, as *Virgil* and *Horace* did in *Latin*, to make perfit also this point of learning, in our English tong.

And thus much for *Plautus* and *Terence*, for matter, tong, and meter, what is to be folowed, and what to be exchewed in them.

After *Plautus* and *Terence*, no writing remaineth vntill *Tullies* tyme, except a fewe short fragmentes of *L. Crassus* excellent wit, here and there recited of *Cicero* for example sake, whereby the louers of learnyng may the more lament the losse of soch a worthie witte.

And although the *Latin* tong did faire blome and blossome in *L. Crassus*, and *M. Antonius*, yet in *Tullies* tyme onely, and in *Tullie* himselfe chieflie, was the *Latin* tong fullie ripe, and growne to the hiest pitch of all perfection

And yet in the same tyme, it began to fade and stoupe, as *Tullie* him selfe, in *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus*, with weeping wordes doth witnesse

And bicause, emongs them of that tyme, there was some difference, good reason is, that of them of that tyme, should be made right choice also And yet let the best *Ciceronian* in *Italie* read *Tullies* familiar epistles aduisedly ouer, and I beleue he shall finde small difference, for the *Latin* tong, either in propriety of wordes or framing of the stile, betwixt *Tullie*, and those that write vnto him As *ser Sulpitius*, *A. Leciinna*, *M. Caelius*, *M. et D. Brutus*, *A. Pollio*, *L. Plancus*, and diuerse

Ep. Planci other read the epistles of *L. Plancus* in x Lib  
 x lib Epist and for an assay, that Epistle namely to the *Coss*  
 8 and whole *Senate*, the eight Epistle in number, and what could be, eyther more eloquentlie, or more wiselie written, yea by *Tullie* himselfe, a man may iustly doubt Thies men and *Tullie*, lued all in one tyme, were like in authoritie, not vnlike in learning and studie, which might be iust causes of this their equalitie in writing And yet surely, they neyther were in deed, nor yet were counted in mens opinions, equall with *Tullie* in that facultie And how is the difference hid in his Epistles? verelie, as the cunning of an expert Sea man, in a faire calme fresh Ryuer, doth litle differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein, euen so, in the short cut of a priuate letter, where, matter is common, wordes easie, and order not moch diuerse, small shew of difference can appeare But where *Tullie* doth set vp his saile of eloquence, in some broad deep Argument, caried with full tyde and winde, of his witte and learnyng, all other may rather stand and looke after him, than hope to ouertake him, what course so euer he hold, either in faire or foule Foure men onely whan the *Latin* tong was full ripe, be left vnto vs, who in that tyme did florish, and did leaue to posteritie, the fruite of their witte and learning *Varro*, *Salust*, *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* Whan I say, these foure onely, I am not ignorant, that euen in the same tyme, most excellent Poetes, deseruing well of the *Latin* tong, as *Lucretius*,

*Cattullus*, *Virgill* and *Horace*, did write: But, bicause, in this litle booke, I purpose to teach a yong scholer, to go, not to daunce: to speake, not to sing, whan Poetes in deed, namelic *Epici* and *Lyrici*, as these be, are fine dauncers, and trime singers, but *Oratores* and *Historici* be those cumlie goers, and faire and wise speakers, of whom I wishe my scholer to wayte vpon first, and after in good order, & dew tyme, to be brought forth, to the singing and dauncing schole: And for this consideration, do I name these foure, to be the onelic writers of that tyme.

### ¶ *Varro*.

*Varro*, in his booke, *de lingua Latina, et Analogia* as these be left mangled and patched vnto vs, doth not enter there in to any great depth of eloquence, but as one caried in a small low vessell him selfe verie ne the common shore, not much vnlike the fisher mē of Rye, and Hering men of Yarmouth. Who deserue by common mens opinion, small commendacion, for any cunning saling at all, yet neuertheles in those bookes of *Varro* good and necessarie stuffe, for that meane kinde of Argument, be verie well and learnedlie gathered together.

His bookes of Husbandrie, are moch to be regarded, and diligentlie to be read, not onelic for the proprietie, but also for the plentie of good wordes, in all contrey and husbandmens affaires. which can not be had, by so good authoritie, out of any other Author, either of so good a tyme, or of so great learnyng, as out of *Varro*. And yet bicause, he was fourescore yeare old, whan he wrote those bookes, the forme of his style there compared with *Tullies* writyng, is but euen the talke of a spent old man: whose wordes commonlie fall out of his mouth, though verie wiselie, yet hardly and coldie, and more heauelie also, than some eares can well beare, except onelic for age, and authorities sake. And perchance, in a rude contrey argument, of purpose and iudgement, he rather vsed, the speach of the contrey, than talke of the Citie.

And so, for matter sake, his wordes sometyme, be somewhat rude: and by the imitation of the elder *Cato*, old and out of vse?

And beyng depe stept in age, by negligence some wordes do so scape & fall from him in those bookes, as be not worth the taking vp, by him, that is carefull to speake or write trew Latin, as that sentence in him, *Romani, in pace a rusticis alebantur, et in bello ab his tuebantur*

Lib 3  
Cap. 1

A good student must be therfore carefull and diligent, to read with iudgement ouer euen those Authors, which did write in the most perfite tyme and let him not be affrayd to trie them, both in propnetie of wordes, and forme of style, by the touch stone of *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, whose puritie was neuer soiled, no not by the sentence of those, that loued them worst

All louers of learnyng may sore lament the losse of those bookes of *Varro*, which he wrote in his yong and lustie yeares, with good leysure, and great learnyng of all partes of Philosophie of the goodliest argumentes, perteynyng both to the common wealth, and priuate life of man, as, *de Rati ne studij, et educandis liberis*, which booke, is oft recited, and moch praysed, in the fragmentes of *Nonius*, euen for authoritie sake He wrote most diligentlie and largelie, also the whole historie of the state of *Rome* the mysteries of their whole Religion their lawes, customes, and gouernement in peace their maners, and whole discipline in warre And this is nor my gessing, as one in deed that neuer saw those bookes, but euen, the verie iudgement, & playne testimonie of *Tullie* him selfe, whō knew & read those bookes, in these wordes *Tu ætatem Patriæ Tu descriptiones temporum Tu sacrorum, tu sacerdotum iura Tu dæmestiam, tu bellicam disciplinam Tu sedem Regionam, Læcorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumq reru nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti &c.*

In Acad.  
Quest

But this great losse of *Varro*, is a litle recompensed by the happy commynge of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* to *Rome* in *Augustus* dayes who getting the possession of *Varros* libranie, out of that treasure house of learning, d d leaue vnto vs some frute of *Varros* witte and diligence, I meane, his goodlie bookes *de Antiquitatibus Romanarum* *Varro* was so esteemed for his excellent learnyng, as *Tullie* him selfe had a reuerence to his iudgement in all doutes of learnyng And *Ant nius Triumvir*, his enemye, and of a contrarie faction, who had power to kill and bannish whom

Cic. ad  
Att.

a lesse point of Grammer than these be, noted of me in *Salust*, as, whether he should write, *ad Piræta*, in *Piræta*, or in *Piræcum*, or *Piræcum sine præpositione*: And in those heuie tymes, he was so carefull to know this small point of Grammer, that he addeth these wordes *Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolueris, magna me molestia liberaris*. If *Tullie*, at that age, in that authoritie, in that care for his contrey, in that ieopardie for him selfe, and extreme necessitie of hys dearest frendes, beyng also the Prince of Eloquence hym selfe, was not ashamed to descend to these low pointes of Grammer, in his owne naturall tong, what should scholers do, yea what should any man do, if he do thinke well doying, better than ill doying: And had rather be, perfite than meane, sure than doutefull, to be what he should be, in deed, not seeme what he is not, in opinion. He that maketh perfites in the *Latin* tong his marke, must come to it by choice & certaine knowledge, not stumble vpon it by chance and doubtfull ignorance: And the right steppes to reach vnto it, be these, linked thus orderlie together, aptnes of nature, loue of learnyng, diligence in right order, constancie with pleasant moderation, and alwayes to learne of them that be best, and so shall you iudge as they that be wisest. And these be those reules, which worthie Master *Cbeke* dyd impart vnto me concerning *Salust*, and the right iudgement of the *Latin* tong.

¶ *Cæsar*.

*Cæsar* for that litle of him, that is left vnto vs, is like the halfe face of a *Venus*, the other part of the head beyng hidden, the bodie and the rest of the members vnbecon, yet so excellentlie done by *Apelles*, as all men may stand still to mase and muse vpon it, and no man step forth with any hope to performe the like.

His seuen bookes *de bello Gallico*, and three *de bello Ciuili*, be written, so wiselie for the matter, so eloquentlie for the tong, that neither his greatest enemies could euer finde the least note of parcialitie in him (a meruelous wisdom of a man, namely writyng of his owne doynge) nor yet the best iudgers of the *Latin* tong, nor the most enuious lookers vpon other mē's writynges, can say any other, but all things be most perfitelie done by him.

*Thucydides* likewise wrote his storie, not at home in Grece, but abrode in Italie, and therefore smelleth of a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange to them of *Athens*, and diuerse from their writing, that liued in Athens and Grece, and wrote the same tyme that *Thucydides* did, as *Lysias*, *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Isocrates*, the purest and playnest writers, that euer wrote in any tong, and best examples for any man to follow whether he write, Latin, Italian, French, or English *Thucydides* also semeth in his writing, not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by Arte, and caried forth by desire, studie, labor, toyle, and ouer great curiositie who spent xxvii yeares in writing his eight bookes of his history *Salust* likewise wrote out of his

Dionys.  
Halycar  
ad Q  
Tub de  
Hist Thuc

contrie, and followed the faultes of *Thuc* to moch and boroweth of him som kinde of writing, which the Latin tong can not well beare, as *Catus* *nominatiuus* in diuerse places *absolutè positus*, as in that place of *Iugurth*, speaking *de leptitanis*, *istag ab*

*imperatorè facillè quæ petebant adepti, missæ sunt eò cohortes ligurum quatuor* This thing in participles, vsed so oft in *Thucyd* and other Greeke authors to, may better be borne with all, but *Salust* vseth the same more strangelie and boldlie, as in thies wordes, *Multis sibi quisq imperium petentibus* I beleue, the best Grammarien in England can scarce giue a good reule, why *quisq* the nominatiue case, without any verbe, is so thrust vp amongst so many oblique cases Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorne this my writyng, and call it idle curiositie, thus to busie my selfe in picki ng about these small pointes of Grammer, not fitte for my age, place and calling, to trifle in I trust that man, be he neuer so great in authoritie, neuer so wise and learned, either, by other mens iudgement, or his owne opinion, will yet thinke, that he is not greater in England, than *Tullie* was at Rome, not yet wiser, nor better learned than *Tullie* was him selfe, who, at the pitch of three score yeares, in the middes of the broyle betwixt *Cesar* and *Pompeie*, whan he knew not, whether to send wife & children, which way to go, where to hide him selfe, yet, in an earnest letter, amongst his earnest councelles for those heuie tymes concerning both the common state of his contrey, and his owne priuate great affaires he was neither vnmindfull nor ashamed to reason at large, and learne gladlie of *Atticus*,

Ad Att  
Lib 7 Epi  
scila. 3



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*Maurus* p 168 l 4 any for my l 17 lesse for leste p. 178  
 l 12 concerning, the for concerning the l 5 up frend. for friend,  
 p 186 l 8 up *Exardescere* for *Exardescere* \* last line *abycere* for *abycere*  
 p. 188 l 4 up yonge for yonge. p 193 l 5 I speaking for in  
 speaking (?) p 195 l 15 sadle for sadle. l 10. learning for learning,  
 p 199 l 10 up wersion for wersion p 200 l 4 up. God, for God  
 p 202 l 7 up withall for with all p 204 l 1 *Cræus* for *Cræus*  
 p 207 l 18 greatie for greatie p 213 l 1. *Epb* for *Epborus* (as in  
 ed 1571) l 24 up laie for saie p 215 l 2 Courte for Courte,  
 p 224 l 13 up sillabes for sillabes (as elsewhere) \* l 12 up versifying  
 for versifying p 228 l 9 up sutlie for suttie p 231 l 7  
*aduoultères* for *aduoultères* pp 236 l 11 up and 239 l 11 up with in  
 for within p 241 l 7 up *soone* for *soone*, l 5 up ill for will  
 (as in ed. 1571) p 243 l 2 all for also (as in ed. 1571) l 12 marg de  
 Or for de Or p 244 marg Epist. lib. 6, 7 li. Epist. for Epist. lib 7.  
 Epist. 9 p 247 l 17 *Iliados* for *Iliados* marg λ for γλ. l 12 up  
*Andraton* for *Andraton* p 249 l 5 up liuyng for louyng \* p 251  
 l 12 up *meraus* for *meram* l 10 up. *overraçios* for *overraçios* l 9 up  
*Candaulus* for *Candaulus* p 253 last line it Grammer for it in Grammer  
 (as in ed. 1571) p 255 l 13 de Rep for de Rep p 257 l 11 up  
*Stalenus* for *Stalenus* p 264 l 16 plerungz for plerungz p 267  
 ll. 4, 5 *ma'teres* for *ma'teres* (as in ed. 1571) l 25 *Erasmus*, wishe for  
*Erasmus* wishe l 27. *Ænegas* for *Ænegas* p. 268 l 14 cunningest  
 for cunningest (as in ed. 1571) p 272 l 19 *Adriadna* for *Ariadna*  
 l 11 up *Turmus* for *Turnus* p 273 l 11 up palce for place p 276  
 marg. *Thucid* 10 for *Thucid* 1 p 280 l 2 up. *Aper* for *Aper*  
 p 281 l 5 up chosele for choiselle l 3 up portiaature for portraic-  
 ture p 283 l 7 up Genus for Genus p 284 l 6 *Aristophanus*  
 for *Aristophanes* p 285 l 16 in *Sermonem* for *Sermonem* p 286  
 l 11 some for some p 287 l 8 storehose for storehouse l 8 up.  
 be cum for becum p 288 l 8 *Lalius* for *Lelius* l 12 up. *Cerilus*  
 for *Cecilius* eudentie for eudentle p 289 l 7 up. *dastylus*  
 for *dactylus* ll. 3 and 4 up *Monasyllabus* for *Monasyllabus* p 290  
 l 19 sillabes for sillabes (pp 291 l 13 up 291 l 8) l 13 up  
*Petrarb* for *Petrarb* p 291 l 1 as for at last line and marg  
*Figlince* for *Figlince* p 292 marg. Enland for England p 294 l 15  
*Pollia* for *Pollis* ll. 15, 16 *Plaucus* for *Plaucus* marg *Plauci* for  
*Planci* p 295 l 3. (whan for whan p 296 l 10 soiled for  
 soiled p 298 marg. ornata for ornatu p 299 l 3 up. oration  
 for orations p 301 l 4 up ludegers for ludegers

